o. 33
UGUST 1988

SOVIET WEEKLY
WORLD AFFAIRS

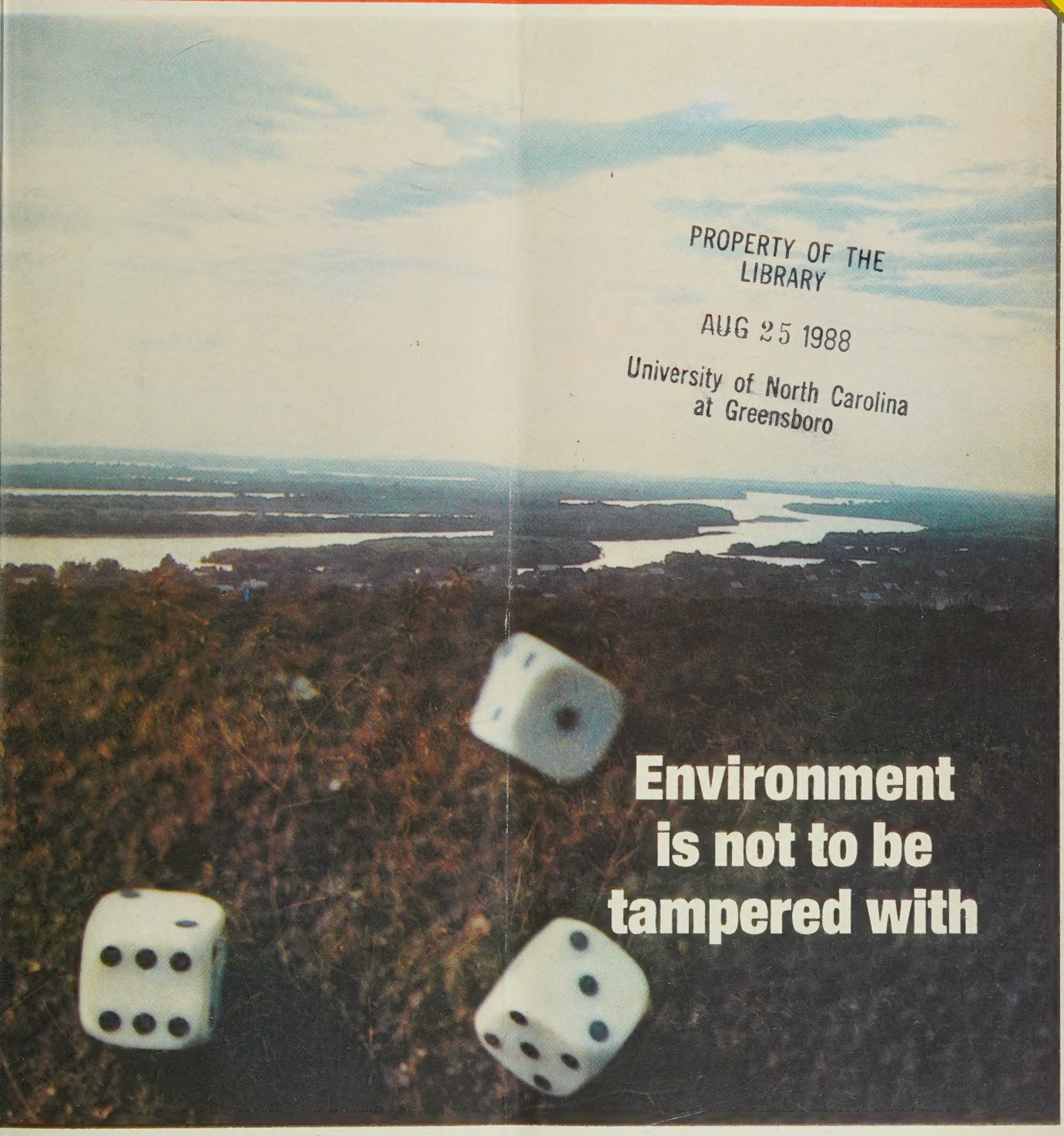
NEW TIMES

Churchill and the Warsaw uprising

PROPERTY OF THE
LIBRARY

AUG 25 1988

University of North Carolina
at Greensboro



Environment is not to be tampered with

Youth gangs in Kazan

БИНОКЛЬ

БОЦ

7×50

Take a close look at distant objects

with a BOTS 7x50 binoculars

Special features:
– extra light-gathering power for twilight viewing
– a provision for use while wearing glasses
The BOTS 7x50 binoculars will dramatically enlarge your world!

The Rassvet
Central Advertising Agency
The Golden Ring Advertising Agency

NEW TIMES

No. 33, August 1988

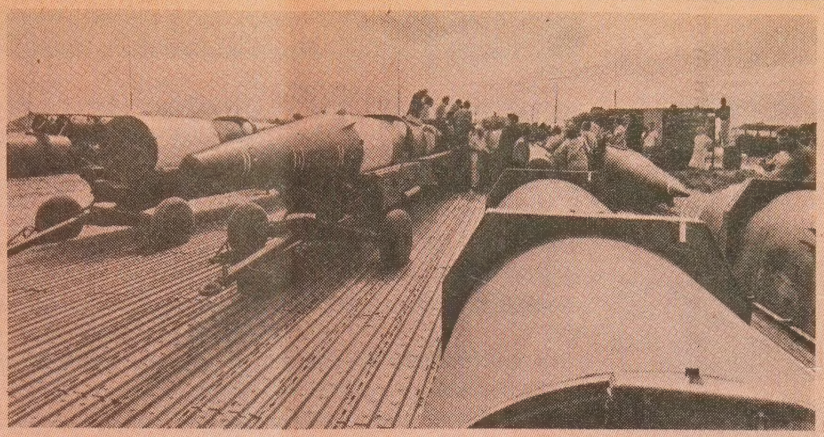
Founded 1943

Editor-in-Chief
VITALY IGNATENKO

Associate editors:
L. ABRAMOV,
L. BEZYMENSKY,
V. CHERNYAVSKY,
V. GANYUSHKIN,
S. GOLYAKOV,
V. KULISTIKOV,
L. MLECHIN,
A. PIN,
D. POGORZHELSKY,
A. PUMPYANSKY,
Y. SHEVCHENKO,
V. STARSHINOV

Designer I. Shein

Editor of English edition:
E. Smirnov



Nuclear missiles, condemned to death by the INF treaty, are being destroyed in the Kazakh steppe. See the report of our special correspondent from the secret zone in Sary-Ozek on p.5

CONTENTS:

Glasnost

Highlight of the week

Disarmament problems
Anatoly Kovrigin
MISSILES ON THE BLOCK

Quotations

Namibia
Mikhail Khrobostov
THE HARD ROAD TO A SETTLEMENT

10
Observer's view
Alexei Bukalov
WEAPON AGAINST THE FUTURE

11
India
Sergei Irodov
IN THE RUN-UP TO THE ELECTIONS

12
Afghanistan
Boris Gan
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY RENOUNCES ITS MONOPOLY

14
Indo-China
Yuri Nikolayev
THE KAMPUCHEAN KNOT

15
Citizen diplomacy
Galina Sidorova
TRAVELLERS ON THE ROAD

18
East-West
Andrei Kokoshin
DEFENCE IS BEST FOR STABILITY

20
Observer's view
Alexander Pumpyansky
LET'S FACE IT...

21
Justice
Boris Balkarei and Nikita Zholkver
RUST IS BACK HOME

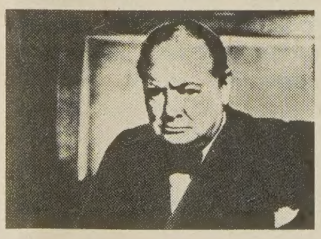
22
Trade
Sergei Abramov and Igor Oleinik
THE LOSSES CAN BE TOO SERIOUS
Professor William Wallace interviewed

24
U.S.S.R.: perestroika and democracy
Anatoly Butenko, Leonid Goldin
WHO IS TO BLAME? WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

30
Observer's view
Alexander Didusenko
SPEAKING OUT

31
CMEA–EEC
Sergei Svirin
ONE MORE HURDLE CLEARED

32
New light on the Warsaw uprising
Lev Bezymensky
WHY WINSTON CHURCHILL SAID NO



38
Ecology
Olga Papkova
PUTTING A CAT NEAR A GOLDFISH BOWL
Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences Alexei Yablokov interviewed

40
Junior world
Simon Soloveichik
VEHICLES OF VIOLENCE

41
The youth scene
Ksenia Myalo
THE KAZAN PHENOMENON

44
Profile sketches

46
Culture
Tatiana Firsova
WHAT HINDERS CULTURAL EXCHANGES
People's Artiste of the Russian Federation Nikolai Petrov interviewed

48
Religion
Olga Bai and Vyacheslav Podshibyakin
THEIR ANCESTORS' TENETS LIVE ON

Cover by Victor Brel

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67
Telex: 411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU ● Telefax: 200-41-92, 200-10-38
Cables: New Times Pushkin Square Moscow
Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish, Czech and Greek
Printed by the Moskovskaya Pravda press in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Any material reprinted must be acknowledged

New Times is delivered to you by Aeroflot

OPINIONS

V. Kushakov
Kansk, U.S.S.R.

■ Military exercises by NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries must be prohibited, as they increase war hysteria and cause immense harm to the environment.

Now, in the age of new political thinking, the Soviet Union and the United States must conclude a treaty banning any manoeuvres by the armed forces of NATO or the Warsaw Treaty states.

It is high time to establish cordial relations, rather than demonstrate military strength to each other. A treaty banning military exercises could be concluded very soon. Everything depends on the good will of both sides.

W. Dyer
Palmerston North,
New Zealand

■ Serving with the British army during the second world war, I personally experienced all the horrors of war. What impressed me most of all, however, was my encounter with Soviet man and officers in nazi POW camps.

As a man who saw these places with his own eyes, I can well imagine what ordeals your servicemen endured and in what conditions they were held. Recalling that time, I feel deep satisfaction at having been one of those who provided Soviet people with clean clothes, relatively good food, medical treatment and shelter.

I even remember the colour of the overalls issued to them instead of their rags. As distinct from British soldiers dressed in khaki, your soldiers wore dark brown.

Our convoys brought former POWs to a railway station from which they left for home. I distinctly remember their joyful happy faces. After years of humiliation and suffering they were at last able to hope for an early meeting with their close relatives.

But I later learned – and, unfortunately, it proved true – that at home imprisonment and not the embraces of their close relatives awaited many of these people. Strictly speaking, some of the POWs may have collaborated. But the number of those who courageously and selflessly fought against fascism was far greater. Did they deserve such a fate?

In the article by Albertas Laurinciukas (No. 21, 1988) I read that "in Stalin's day a soldier taken prisoner would have been proclaimed a traitor." I immediately thought: what is the situation now, when Soviet troops and soldiers who have been taken prisoner are returning from Afghanistan? What is the attitude to them? Please give more information about this.

Sergei Sokolov
Veteran of
the Afghanistan war
Tula,
U.S.S.R.

■ The process of democratization and perestroika is also beginning in the armed forces. However, it is not going as one would like. I feel more attention should now be paid to the training of officers. It is they who bear the principal burden of educational work in the army.

It's bad when people get into military academies by chance. Professional selection is essential here. In some military units there are still officers who discredit their rank by their behavior. Some have simply been disappointed and understood that military service is not for them, but they are afraid to resign their commissions.

If anyone dares send in his papers, he's torn to shrewds. I think officers unwilling to serve any longer should be allowed to retire freely. The more such officers go, the better for the army.

It also sometimes happens that the commander of a unit, a party member, abuses his power, humiliates people, and behaves amorally. His subordinates see all this, but can do nothing. Only a higher party body can impose a penalty on such a an officer. But how can such a body learn of his behavior if it is situated hundreds of miles away? Will the men under his command write a collective complaint? This is forbidden.

Such an officer lords it over his unit until he is removed. Moreover, commanders of this kind are often promoted . It is therefore essential that all officers should answer for their misconduct to the party organizations of which they are members. Unfortunately, that does not happen.

Furthermore, the prestige of officers in charge of political work should be enhanced. Candidates for such work could be proposed by the ranks. A political instructor is a leader, and leaders are elected by the people; it is impossible to appoint them. Only then will the army have genuine political commissars.

A MATTER AT ISSUE

Ivan Crane
Wollongong,
Australia

■ It seems to me that with the launching of perestroika and glasnost in your country, many of the readers' letters and articles published in the Soviet press, New Times included, have become very critical of your past. It should be remembered, however, that the Soviet Union is today a great power thanks to its past.

The state developed in extreme conditions. Many mistakes, even very serious ones, have been made. I am sure there will also be mistakes in the course of perestroika and glasnost. No doubt, some aspects of your system need reforming. But it remains to be seen how long perestroika can last without problems which will then become part of your system.

We have already witnessed the appearance of so-called "independent" groups in your country whose views are highly controversial. There have been outbursts of nationalism in some republics. I feel I know who backs these groups, demonstrations and protests. You should not forget that imperialism will always strive to destroy your country, if not from without then from within.

I hope a situation of this kind will not arise in your country under the cover of "democracy and glasnost."

GLASNOST

Matthias Staps
Berlin,
G.D.R.

■ The article "A Dali exhibition in Moscow" (No. 19, 1988) excited envy and reflection – envy, because I was not able to see the exhibition, and reflection, because it meant one more step forward.

Dali's pictures are a result of rare imagination and impeccable technique. They reveal a wealth of thought and creativity. Louis Aragon wrote of the artist: "You are impressed by an ability you had no inkling of, by the unusual lightness, the emancipation of the spirit, unprecedented representation."

There is, I think, a direct connection between the exhibition of pictures by the surrealist Dali in Moscow and the policy of glasnost and perestroika. Perestroika needs to be acquainted with the art of such people as Salvador Dali, because the exhibition has put an end to the prolonged isolation from other trends in art and culture. Dialogue and a study of the world's artistic masterpieces will help people gain a better understanding of each other.

The Dali exhibition in Moscow is a step towards further cultural progress, which is, I think, the goal of the positive changes in your country.

AN ARTIST'S COMMENT

Drawing by Igor Smirnov

GLASNOST

APPEAL TO THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET PRESIDIUM

From the Public Commission for International Cooperation on Humanitarian Issues and Human Rights attached to the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation

The celebration of the Millennium of Christianity in Russia was an important religious and socio-political event for the people of our country and progressives the world over. The Soviet leadership greatly values the patriotic, peace-making and humanitarian activity of the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as the other faiths professed in the Soviet Union. It has also been justly noted that the vast majority of believers have accepted perestroika and are making a tangible contribution to the implementation of plans for the social and economic development of the country. All this indicates a new approach to church-state relations in the age of perestroika and democratization.

In these circumstances, the Public Commission has deemed it appropriate to ask the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium to reconsider the cases of the few Soviet citizens who have been prosecuted or are serving sentences passed on them by people's courts for violation of the laws on freedom of conscience. It seems to us that these people no longer represent any public threat to our society. We believe that pardoning them would be an act of great humanitarian significance. Such a decision, we think, would be received with satisfaction by the Soviet people and the numerous public organizations abroad advocating international cooperation on humanitarian issues and human rights in the spirit of the recommendations laid down in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The commission urges the Presidium, in connection with the Millennium of Christianity in Russia, to declare an amnesty of persons convicted or being brought to court under articles 142 and 227 of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation, and similar articles of the criminal codes of other constituent republics.

On behalf of the Public Commission:

FYODOR BURLATSKY, chairman of the commission, political analyst of Literaturnaya Gazeta; IRINA ANTONOVA, director of the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts; DANIIL GRANIN, writer; VLADIMIR DUDINTSEV, writer; VITALY IGNATENKO, Editor-in-chief of New Times; LIDIA NOVAK, chairman of the Central Committee of the Medical Workers' Union; VICTOR PROTASOV, corresponding member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and Lenin Prize winner; BORIS RAUSHENBAKH, academician; YURI ROZENBAUM, merited lawyer of the Russian Federation; JUVENALY, Metropolitan of Krutitsy and Kolomna.

PRIVATE OPINION

Frank Carlucci,
Secretary of Defence, United States of America

I have come to Moscow for the second time this summer to meet with Soviet Defence Minister Dmitry Yazov.

What am I expecting of the contacts between the American and Soviet military?

We have already achieved some results. Work has been done on avoiding dangerous military acitivities. We are studying how the military mechanisms function in our countries and what military doctrines represent. Let me emphasize that on the issue of doctrines we have clearly very significant differences between us. We have heard much about Soviet plans and intentions, but do not yet see how they are being implemented to change the military structure. I think the discussion of this question should be continued in the same frank spirit that characterizes our relations.

We have had constructive discussions on regional and arms control issues. It should be borne in mind, of course, that the Soviet Defence Minister and I are not negotiators. We are not trying to achieve a concrete outcome. Our aim is a dialogue that will promote better unterstanding between our two countries. That this dialogue is developing is evidenced by my current visit to Moscow and to Soviet military installations, and by my speech at the military academy of the General Staff of the Soviet armed forces.

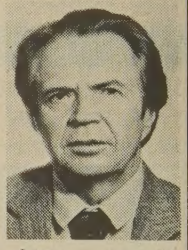
Ahmed Iskenderov,
Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

The rehabilitation of a large group of Soviet government, party and public leaders convicted at the trials of the "union of Marxists-Leninists," "Moscow centre," "anti-Soviet united Trotskyite-Zinoviev centre," and the "parallel anti-Soviet Trotskyite centre" (with Kamenev and Zinoviev among them) means more than just the restoration of flouted justice and another proof of the crimes committed by the Stalinist state-bureaucratic machine. It is an event of great historical, political and ideological significance.

I regard this decision as a reply to those who oppose raking up the past. The good name of the unlawfully convicted people has been restored, and they themselves have taken their places in our history. It is necessary to fill in the blanks in our country's past, retrieve the names of unlawfully convicted people from oblivion, and study and publicly establish their place and role in the rise and consolidation of Soviet government and our country's progress and their contribution to Marxism-Leninism. There is no history without these people.

All of them were tried on routine charges of anti-Soviet activity. Their sole guilt was that they dared to have their own opinions and positions. The Supreme Court has established -- and this is extremely important -- that their views were by no means anti-Soviet. I regard the rehabilitation of the unlawfully convicted leaders as further recognition of the need for socialist pluralism, the legitimacy of the existence and confrontation of different opinions, positions and views. Experts say there are many paths of development, and we should know these paths.

Society is concerned for the irreversibility of perestroika.. The rehabilitation of the unlawfully convicted leaders is one small guarantee that a return to the past is impossible.



Ivan Buzdalov,
Dr. Sc. (Econ.)

The national council of collective farms has approved a model statute of collective farms. This document differs fundamentally not only from the old statute but also from the draft adopted at a recent collective farmers' congress. The purpose of the changes was to bring the conditions in which collective farms function into line with the law on cooperation.

The new statute is undoubtedly a progressive document. But we should not imagine that with its help we shall be able to cut the Gordian knot of our agrarian problems, because all the problems in this chain are important.

As distinct from the old provision that land held by collective farms is secured to them for their free use in perpetuity (in fact, at a loss to the state), the words "free use" have been deleted from the new statute. One would imagine that the road to contract forms of management has been opened. But can we advance confidently along it today?

Experience shows that we cannot. Most farms are operating as before. Now and then I hear it stated that we have fulfilled or overfulfilled the plans. It has been clearly asserted, however, that collective farms only take state orders on a voluntary basis. Nevertheless, executives continue to meddle in peasant affairs and tell farms when to sow, because they are impervious to statements that interference has been prohibited, and that they will have to answer for losses suffered by collective farms as a result of their interference. Indeed, not one of them has as yet been made materially responsible for their actions. They are shielded by local and senior executives, who continue to claim that we do not need a capitalist market, and so on. How are we to break this vicious circle?

Laws on land, leasing and taxes are needed, and the old bureaucratic instructions must be revoked.

Missiles on the block

Report from a secret zone

"And alongside the railroad in these parts lay great desert spaces – Sary-Ozek – the Midlands of the yellow steppes... Edygei was the first to stop... As far as the eye could see, up and down the steppe around impenetrable barbed wire, hung in rows on square columns of reinforced concrete... Firm and solid stood this fence. No one knew where it began or where it ended. Perhaps it had no end..."

Chinghiz Aitmatov
"The Day Lasts a Century"

Till a few days ago Sary-Ozek, lost in the sun-scorched Kazakh steppe, was known only to locals, readers of Aitmatov's bestseller and a handful of military experts, as the site of a U.S.S.R. Armed Forces missile operational base. Until recently it was a top-secret installation. Now it is being spoken of throughout the world. On August 1, 1988, at 12 a.m., Moscow time, the destruction of the first four shorter-range OTR-22 missiles, known in the West as SS-12s, took place here. The implementation of the Washington treaty had begun.

"Pure" destruction?

It is quite difficult to get to Sary-Ozek. The flight from Moscow to Alma-Ata takes four hours, followed by a half-hour "shuttle on board the local airline to Taldy-Kurgan. And then, by local standards, it is only a step – about a hundred kilometers – from this regional centre to Sary-Ozek. Our bus winds between steep hillocks covered with dried grass. Sometimes we come on harvested grain fields and flocks of sheep. Rare settlements. There is no shade for protection. Not a shrub, not a tree. In summer it usually comes to almost 40 degrees Centigrade here. We were lucky, though. On the first of August it was just under 30 degrees. But there was also a different road to Sary-Ozek. It began in August 1945 with the explosion of the atomic bomb over Hiroshima. This thorny path ran through the minds and hearts of statesmen and politicians, army officers and diplomats, intellectuals and clergy, and ordinary people. At times it seemed there was no way out. We are familiar now with the milestones of arduous work on the road towards a nuclear-free world – Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, Moscow.

The "summit" breakthrough, however, could hardly have become a reality if not for millions of minor breakthroughs in the minds of ordinary people the world over, who were gradually coming to realize that they all belong to the single family – the family of Man.

... Before arriving at the explosion site we found ourselves in a missile depot. Like giant green grasshoppers, OTR-22s and OTR-23s were placed under the open sky on platforms walled with earthworks. The missiles look innocent, but their technical characteristics take your breath away.

The explanation is given by the Chief of the Control Centre for the Destruction of Shorter-Range Missiles of the U.S.S.R. Land Forces, Colonel Stanislav Petrenko, and the Chief of the Missile Operation Base at Sary-Ozek, Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Borodin:

The missiles come from the G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia, and other high concentration areas on the territory of the Soviet Union. The first of the batch arrived at Sary-Ozek back in the spring of this year. Test explosions were carried out to develop a missile destruction technique. The tests showed the correctness of the choice of method and site.

"We are confident," emphasized Stanislav Petrenko, "that the Soviet military have foreseen everything for the efficient implementation of the Soviet-American treaty."

"We attached particular importance," adds Alexander Borodin, "to ecological questions. As the experiments have shown, explosions that take place daily for a week will cause a lesser discharge of various substances and gases into the atmosphere than, say, a medium-capacity thermal power station does in a month of operation. As regards dust and hydrogen chloride levels in the air 10–15 minutes after the explosion, the amount is immeasurably less than the concentration tolerable for man, and several times lower than that registered daily in big cities and factory settlements."

There are no nuclear warheads at Sary-Ozek. The launching vehicles have ar-

rived here alone. Nuclear elements, the precious alloys and metals contained in the heads of the missiles will be extracted and put to other uses in the national economy. The warheads proper are due to be destroyed, though not on the soil of Kazakhstan...

Explosion to a burst of applause

Back to the bus. The four "green grasshoppers" could be seen from far off in the proving grounds. The missiles are surrounded with explosives packed in flat boxes. Everything is ready to go off, so inquisitive journalists and even the ubiquitous newspaper photographers are kept thirty metres or so from the missiles.

The chief of the demolition squad, Colonel Igor Chaikovsky, gives the necessary explanations. I ask him about his attitude to what is going on.

"I realize that the present event is of historic significance. And yet, in a way, I am concerned. I am a professional military engineer and therefore I know what work, creativity and material resources have been put into these missiles. Besides, we are accustomed to handling weapons carefully. In this connection," he smiles, "I have a proposition to make: let the Americans blow up our missiles on our proving grounds while we blow up theirs in the U.S."

The explosion took place exactly according to schedule. First a fireball rose into the sky. A few seconds later we heard a thunderous roll, three kilometers of hilly steppe separating the observation post from the explosion site. This was followed by another burst... A burst of applause from all present at the proving ground.

We are back where a few minutes before the four missiles lay. The powerful charge has literally shattered the mighty weapons that terrified more than just our enemies, reducing them to tiny metal fragments. The three-metre hole is strewn with small pieces of melted ironmongery. These can be found even a dozen metres from the epicentre of the explosion. But they cannot be used to build missiles again.

As many as 957 units of operational missiles alone are due to be demolished, not to mention three hundred training facilities. All this will take at least two or three years.

"What will happen to the proving grounds when all shorter-range missiles have been destroyed?" a journalist asks Stanislav Petrenko.

"We hope to start work here on the demolition of the armaments that are now under consideration at the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva."

Double control

The head of the American inspection group at Sary-Ozek Michael Hritsik says:

"All is going as we expected. The missiles are demolished completely, and this is very good. Our names and the names of our Soviet colleagues will be forgotten, but this explosion, opening the process of nuclear disarmament, will go down in the chronicles of human civilization.

"When watching the destruction of an expensive man-made weapon one may experience negative feelings. But first and foremost one realizes – nuclear weapons threatening the life of the whole of mankind, are being destroyed," he goes on. "And this is most important. I don't know the date we start demolishing missiles in the U.S. but I think it will occur in the near future. We have still to settle a number of problems, including those related to the environment."

The "public inspectors" – representatives of influential anti-war organizations and movements from 17 countries throughout the world are also satisfied. The Soviet Peace Committee invited them to witness the destruction of missiles.

James Bush – the former U.S. Navy scipper, who once commanded an atomic submarine, and now Deputy Director of the American Centre for Defence Information – is genuinely glad:

"Only recently I couldn't even imagine I would be walking freely around a Soviet military base, photographing missiles and other equipment, talking freely to any serviceman and doing all I wanted. This is great, indeed. I am amazed."

And here is the opinion of Ekkehard Lentz from the Federal Republic of Germany:

"The destruction of the first batch of missiles at Sary-Ozek opens up a new phase of active work for a nuclear-free world. In the Federal Republic of Germany growing support is being given to the appeal to the Kohl government to come out in favour of further steps for the reduction of both nuclear and conventional weapons. This is very important to us as German soil is literally saturated with different armaments. It is high time the F.R.G. government began to live up to its words. Among other things, it would be fine if, before his visit to the U.S.S.R. this autumn, Chancellor Kohl propose the destruction of the Pershing 1-A missiles now being adopted by the Bundeswehr."

The Sary-Ozek explosion was described as unique when I spoke with Bill Thomson of Canada, Lesli Torres of Nicaragua, Matti Ruoakkala of Finland, Rais Ahmed of India, and seventh-grader from a Moscow school Olya Yakovleva... The "public inspectors" left Sary-Ozek with renowed belief in human reason, and metal fragments of the destroyed missiles.

Anatoly Kovrigin,
our special correspondent
SARY-OZEK – MOSCOW

The missile base in Sary-Ozek: one secret less on this Earth

Photo by V. Kuzmin

QUOTATIONS

RADOSLAV RADEV
Editor-in-chief of the newspaper Rabotnichesko Delo (Bulgaria)

"We favour a glasnost that entrenches socialism and facilitates revolutionary social renewal. This in turn implies innovative action by collectives and individuals alike and recognition of the names and achievements of all who are working for perestroika. Yet we are still far removed from the condition we must attain to. We could, for instance, open doors more widely to traditionally closed departments in the army, militia, judiciary and procuratorate, and declassify some aspects of the work of the Political Bureau. Is there anything, for instance, to prevent members the Political Bureau using the columns of the press once or twice a year to answer questions concerning the area for which they are directly responsible?"

GEORGE BUSH,
U.S. Vice-President and Republican Party Presidential Candidate.

"My policy will be to develop a viable strategic defence system, an outgrowth of the SDI research programme... As President, I will not leave America defenceless against ballistic missiles."

"Just fancy, our eagle has hatched doves..."

Drawing by Vsevolod Arsenyev

The newspaper
Allgemeine Zeitung *(F.R.G.)*

"As regards East-West relations there exist great, and by no means exhausted, economic and commercial options, while Gorbachev's policy of reforms opens up new opportunities for export by the industrialized Western countries. But, as diplomatic circles have observed, it would for instance be unrealistic at the moment to count on doubling the insignificant volume of trade or expect a dramatic increase in the number of contracts for joint ventures. Difficulties in the field of commercial and hard currency relations persist and are far from easy to surmount. The shortage of hard currency in the Eastern countries, due to the specifics of their economic structure, the inferior quality of their exports, the cumbersome nature of the planned economy system that operates in the East European countries, and the very high levels of debt there, running to 100 billion dollars, impede the development of trade with the West.

"Yet the EEC is taking protectionist measures against the low prices of Eastern state-operated export (steel, footwear, textiles and farm produce). Nearly half of all the EEC's anti-dumping measures are aimed against CMEA member countries. EEC trade with Eastern Europe accounts today for under 7 per cent of its total trade and the figure continues to fall...

"Due to the constant lack of hard currency in the East European countries, East-West trade could be galvanized only were the West to furnish extensive future aid in the form of credits. However, the West has already had unhappy experience here: even though in the 1970s the first credits granted to the record sum of several billion dollars did make for brisker commerce, these funds were used up without bringing about any improvements in economic structures."

The hard road to a settlement

Why are South African troops still in Namibia and Cuban troops still in Angola? What's happening at the Geneva talks? Will Namibia become an independent state?

The name of the man who condemned the Namibian people to long suffering is well known. It is of Lüderitz, a Bremen merchant, who founded a settlement at Angra Pequena in South–West Africa and in 1883 applied to Bismarck for protection. On April 24, 1884, following a short diplomatic conflict with Britain, Germany declared Angra Pequena and the adjoining coast a protectorate.

Mandate to administration

Over a hundred years ago Namibia became a colony, and to this day it has been unable to win self-determination and independence.

The struggle of the Namibian people for their liberation began almost immediately, but the tribal uprisings were brutally suppressed. In 1920 Namibia was transferred to the Union of South Africa (South African Republic since 1961) under a League of Nations mandate. Two decades later, contrary to United Nations decisions, Namibia was made a virtual province of South Africa.

The 1950s saw the birth of political organizations of the Namibian people, whose struggle against South Africa was led by the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO).

SWAPO, founded on April 19, 1960, combines armed and political forms of struggle for Namibia's independence. It is pressing for the territorial integrity of the country, a democratic government and progressive reforms. Its president is Sam Nujoma and its general secretary is A. Toivo Ja Toivo.

U.N. opinion

The Namibian problem has been taken up by the United Nations. In 1966 the General Assembly revoked South Africa's mandate to administer the territory. It has repeatedly confirmed the Namibian people's right to self-determination, freedom and national independence and recognized the legitimacy of their armed struggle under the direction of SWAPO, the only genuine representative of the Namibian people.

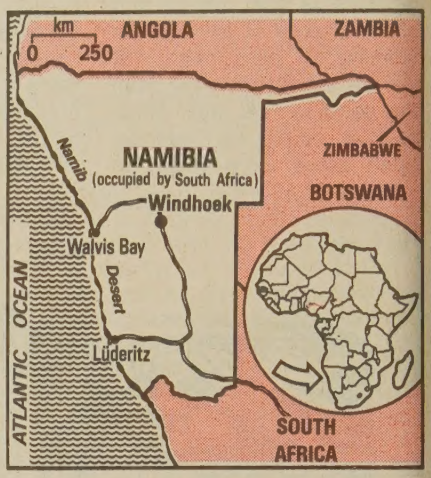
"In Namibia there is a reign of ruthless terror", SWAPO president Sam Nujoma says. "The mercenaries of the sinister Buffalo battalion are carrying out punitive operations, burning down villages, and kill anyone suspected of sympathizing with SWAPO.

"SWAPO and its combat vanguard – guerrilla units – are stepping up their armed resistance to the aggressors. At the same time, however, we are prepared to solve all problems peacefully, at the negotiating table."

The Security Council has passed two important resolutions of Namibia. Resolution 385, adopted in 1976, calls for an end to bantustanization, the withdrawal of South African troops and administration, the release of political prisoners, and the transfer of power to the people by holding elections under U.N. supervision and control. Resolution 435, also known as the U.N. plan for Namibia, contains specific provisions for phased decolonization.

From Security Council Resolution 435, adopted on September 29, 1978:

The Security Council reiterates that its objective is the withdrawal of South Africa's illegal administration from Namibia and the transfer of power to the people of Namibia with the assistance of the United Nations in accordance with Security Council resolution 385 (1976);



"*decides* to establish under its authority a United Nations Transition Assistance Group..., namely, to ensure the early independence of Namibia through free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations;

"*welcomes* the preparedness of the South-West Africa People's Organization to cooperate in the implementation of the Secretary-General's report, including its expressed readiness to sign and observe the ceasefire provisions...

"*calls upon* South Africa forthwith to cooperate with the Secretary-General in the implementation of the present resolution;

"*declares* that all unilateral measures taken by the illegal administration in Namibia in relation to the electoral process, including unilateral registration of voters, or transfer of power, in contravention of resolutions 385 (1976), 431 (1978) and the present resolution, are null and void."

South Africa is resorting to various means to suppress people's protest movement in Namibia and implant apartheid in every sphere of life in that country.

The occupied territories are being used by Pretoria as a springboard for large-scale attacks on Angola. To suppress the

Namibian people's struggle for freedom and independence, the South African administration has introduced a state of emergency, wartime laws and a curfew in the "security zones" that cover over two thirds of Namibia's territory.

Why Pretoria holds Namibia

Before the first world war, when South-West Africa was a German colony, an unusual phenomenon, later determined to be radioactivity, was discovered in the Namib Desert. According to eyewitnesses, people become aware of it because the African women who had been in the desert became sterile.

In 1928 Peter Louw, a British officer who had resigned his commission to take up geology, found pieces of the mineral davidite in the Namib Desert — irrefutable proof of the presence of uranium ore there.

The rapid growth of uranium production in the region in the 1960s increased Pretoria's desire to keep the territory under its control. In addition to uranium, immense deposits of diamonds, copper, lead, lithium, silver, tin, vanadium and zinc have been found there. All of them are especially important in military production.

Where does this wealth go? Diamonds are extracted by the South African company Consolidated Diamond Mines. Some 1.3 million carats were produced in 1983. The large uranium open-cast Rossing is being worked by the South African company Industrial Development Corporation jointly with the French company Total. As many as 4.500 tons of uranium oxide were produced in 1983. The mining of nonferrous metal ores is carried out by South African and American companies and that of basic and rare metals by South African, Canadian and West German companies.

Negotiations

Talks between Angola, Cuba and South Africa through the mediation of the United States opened in London early in May. The main subject, apart from the defining of relations between the negotiating parties, is the granting of independence to Namibia.

The dynamics of talks inspires hopes for a positive outcome. The principles of a settlement have already been worked out and made public.

One of the conditions for granting independence to Namibia is the withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops from Angola. As for Pretoria, the status of its troops in Angola is absolutely clear: they are the troops of an aggressor. The legitimacy of the presence of Cuban troops (about 40,000 to 45,000, mainly in Southern Angola) is not doubted even by Americans or South Africans. At least, they do not dispute the legal aspect of the question. It is another matter that the Cuban presence in the south of Africa is politically unacceptable to them, because, in their opinion, Cuba has no part to play in deciding Africa's future.

South African troops in the north of Namibia, near the Angolan border.

TASS photos

In the past few months Angolan and Cuban troops have made a considerable advance to the south, forcing South African troops to retreat. In the opinion of the Ethiopian Herald, this fact has decisively influenced Pretoria's decision to start talks. One should not belittle, however, other, no less important, circumstances which brought Pretoria to the negotiating table. The internal situation in South Africa has been exacerbated to the utmost by the struggle against apartheid. The U.S. Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis has described the Pretoria regime as terrorist. The U.S. Congress is discussing wider sanctions against South Africa. Pretoria's decision was also influenced by recent political developments worldwide, in particular, the Soviet-American high-level accords and the agreement on Afghanistan.

Pretoria advanced its own plan for a settlement in the region. In particular, it proposed holding free elections in Namibia after July 1 next year, provided Cuban troops have left Angola by that time.

Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker said the American party expected the proposal to be made at the negotiating table, and not communicated to the press. Following the statement by South Africa's Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, the Angolan and Cuban delegations released a joint communiqué accusing the South African side of revealing its proposals for a propaganda advantage, and not to achieve progress at the talks.

The Geneva talks have yielded no practical results. The parties still disagree of the date for the withdrawal of South African and Cuban troops from Angola. The Cubans say they need four years, whereas Pretoria insists that troops can be evacuated within one year.

A Namibian state?

Pretoria is determined to prevent SWAPO from coming to power. But is SWAPO itself capable of running an independent state? The organization has, in fact, a shadow cabinet that could govern the country on its own or in coalition with other forces. The Namibian people will have to decide that during free elections.

How will events develop if the talks fail?

"Our position is clear and definite: a ceasefire agreement between SWAPO and South Africa can only be reached along the lines of Resolution 435. It is the only way of achieving Namibian independence by peaceful means," says Kaveke Anthony Katamila, a member of the SWAPO Political Bureau.

"I can state with full responsibility that SWAPO will make no concessions detrimental to the interests of the Namibian people we are fighting for. If a diplomatic, political solution to the Namibian problem is not secured, SWAPO will have no alternative but to step up its armed liberation struggle."

Compiled by Mikhail Khrobostov

Weapon against the future

Alexei Bukalov

"Sweet dimness of the mind" is how narcotic intoxication is described by the main character in Chinghiz Aitmatov's novel "The Scaffold" whether it is sweet or otherwise is arguable and irrelevant. The main and indisputable part of the formula, however, is dimness, an oppressive cloud clogging the brain, turning people into zombies and slaves and often into aggressive maniacs. The same book identifies a range of consequences of drug taking – from self-destruction and disintegration of the personality to sadistic murder. Long ago, Jonathan Swift noted that reason was a rider that is easy to dismount. The easiest way to dismount it is with drugs.

We have grown accustomed to hearing reports about drug-motivated crime as a rule from abroad. For years the drug problem in this country was in the "zone of silence."

Official statistics have finally been released. The effect produced was one of shock. It has transpired, for instance, that the number of drug-motivated crimes in the country stands at 40,000 a year! The economic damage done by drug addiction has yet to be calculated. But we know that in the United States it amounts to scores of billions of dollars annually.

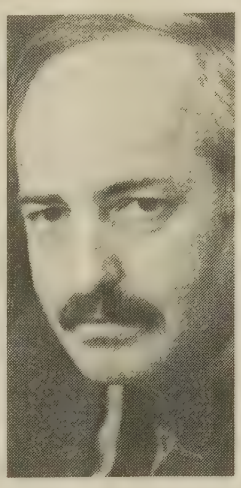
It seems the drug virus knows no boundaries - national or ideological.

The Soviet Union today has 130 thousand officially registered drug users. Of these, 51 thousand have been diagnosed as addicts. Two thirds of drug users are young people. Annually, the police confiscate 30-40 tons of narcotics.

The "Golden Triangle" and the "Golden Crescent," the areas where the opium poppy is grown in South and South-East Asia, have achieved grim notoriety. I have no idea what geometrical figure is formed by the fields of wild hemp in the Chuisky Valley in Kirghizia. We only know that the plant, which is used for making hashish, occupies 1 million 800 thousand hectares. No matter how much we would like to eradicate such á quantity of hemp, we cannot do so without grave ecological consequences.

Aware of the danger of the spread of drugs, the international community has been taking self-defence measures. A new United Nations convention on combating the illegal drug trade is scheduled to be signed in Vienna in November. More and more often the communiqués and resolutions of major international forums are stating concern about the drug problem. Persistent attempts have been made to pool efforts.

The political declaration of the recent seven-nation summit in Toronto included an article on drug addiction. Is stressed the urgent need to improve international cooperation at all the appropriate forums with regard to programmes aimed at combating all aspects of the illicit drugs problem, in particular the production of and trade in drugs, and the financing of such trade.



The only world war we need

In Moscow the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States welcomed the start of a bilateral discussion on combating international drug trafficking. So read a joint statement published at the end of the Soviet-American summit.

While Vnukovo airport was getting ready to receive the American President, three Argentinian citizens were being detained in another Moscow airport. They had been carrying drugs from Bolivia to Buenos-Aires and then to Moscow, and thence to West European countries.

A drug trial recently ended in Montreal. The smugglers had sent hashish by freight from Argentina via the U.S.S.R. to Canada. They were arrested thanks to the pooling of efforts by Soviet customs officials and the Canadian police. A Soviet customs officer appeared in court as a witness.

3.5 tons of hashish to the tune of over 10 million pounds was seized in April this year: the haul crowned a joint operation by Soviet and British customs officials. There have also been press reports of talks and contacts between Soviet customs authorities and colleagues in France, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands.

International cooperation is also being established between law-enforcement agencies. A Tashkent conference on combating drugs brought together delegates from the interior ministries of Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R.

Of course, this is only a beginning. More active Soviet participation in international drug-fighting efforts is hampered by the fact that the U.S.S.R. is not a member of the Interpol, a worldwide organization involving 126 countries. I believe the need is urgent to set up a special interdepartmental agency to combat drugs in this country. We should also – quickly and extensively – start participating in multilateral international collaboration to fight the scourge of narcotics. We, too, must do everything in our power to render this international cooperation permanent, dynamic and efficient.

There is no time to be wasted. Drugs are a weapon aimed at our future, for they primarily hit the young. Drugs spell crime and death. Drugs spell merciless power and corruption. If we are destined to see a third world war, let it be a war against drugs. Victory in such a war will be shared by all of humanity. And we must win.

In the run-up to the elections

The opposition is getting ready for a tough fight. What are Rajiv Gandhi's opponents doing? What does the government have to offer?

The final or, as they call it in India, "monsoon" session of the Indian Parliament's House of the People that opened late in July in Delhi graphically demonstrates the country's political line-up. The 400 Indian National Congress (I) deputies confront a small number of MPs representing different opposition parties – righ-wing, centrist, left-wing and regional. This results from the success of the National Congress in the 1984 general elections. Led by Rajiv Gandhi the party won an unprecedented majority . Neither Rajiv's grandfather Jawaharlal Nehru nor his mother Indira Gandhi had ever had such a landslide victory.

But the opposition is not showing any signs of depression or disarray. It is trying to snatch the initiative from the Indian National Congress (I) capitalizing on the party's defeat in the recent by-elections to the national and some state legislatures. The results of these election battles, and particularly the impressive success of the opposition forces in the Allahabad area, in the state of Uttar Pradesh, have roused Gandhi's opponents and encouraged them to cooperate more closely.

The opposition leader

The winner of the Allahabad elections, Vishwanath Pratar Singh, merits more detailed attention, as he has assumed leadership of the opposition alliance.

Vishwanath Pratar Singh is 57, a native of Allahabad and graduate of Allahabad University. Close connections with the family of former Indian Prime Miniser Lal Bahadur Shastri have unquestionably promoted his further political career. In 1970 he was elected to the House of the People in Parliament, became a member of Indira Gandhi's government responsible for commerce. From 1980 to 1982 he was Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, the largest Indian state. After Rajiv Gandhi became Prime Minister, Vishwanath Pratar Singh held the post of Union Minister of Finance and subsequently that of Union Minister of Defence. In 1987 he was dismissed from the Cabinet and expelled from the ruling party for "anti-party activities." At present he is leader of Jan Morcha (People's Front), established in October last year, and one of the engineers of the campaign accusing the government of corruption.

Urged on by Vishwanath Pratar Singh and others opposed to Gandhi, the country is being drawn into the mire of a scandal implicating some Indian departments in a series of contracts with foreign companies. Besides the Bofors and Howaldtswerke cases (see New Times issue No.25, 1988), they are coming out with fresh "revelations" intended to convince the public that, if not the Prime Minister personally, his immediate entourage at least is guilty of corruption. Recently the newspaper The Statesman published an article directly linking a Gandhi aide with negotiating a contract between the Indian oil and gas commission and the Japanese company Sumitomo which, the newspaper alleges, paid large sum of money to the representatives of Indian business for their services. These frontal attacks on the central government and Rajiv Gandhi personally are being used by the right-wing conservative opposition for several purposes. First, to undermine the personal standing of the Prime Minister, and damage his prestige both in India and abroad. Secondly, to weaken the unity of the ruling party, and sow discord in its ranks. And third, to knock together a single opposition front with an eye to the forthcoming parliamentary general election late in 1989.

Attempts have been made to set up a single right-centrist bloc. The organizational procedure for forming the bloc, which has already been named Samajvadi Janata Dal, is due to be completed by August 15, India's Independence Day. It looks as if the bloc will be used in the immediate future as a basis for the creation of a National Front which, besides the Samajvadi Janata Party, will embrace a number of regional parties. The opposition leaders are planning to collaborate in the 1989 parliamentary elections with both Bharatiya Janata, the most influential right-wing opposition party, and the left-wing forces, represented by the Communist Party of India (CPI) and the Communist Party of India (CPI-Marxist).

Distribution of "posts"

How realistic are these plans? Many political observers are already questioning the viability of the factions being set up by the opposition. Attempts to create such alliances rest todate on a single somewhat shaky basis – the obvious, Gandhi's opponents say, decline of the prestige and influence of the ruling party and the Prime Minister himself. To all intents and purposes, the right-wing conservative opposition has no political platform of its own. At the same time, in the ranks of the opposition a feud has been developing between the different fac-

tions for the leadership and rivalry and personal ambition between the opposition leaders are beginning to be felt. They appear to be more concerned with distributing posts and offices in the party-to-be than elaborating the principles on which it is to be created, its objectives and policy line.

The noted Indian journalist Girinal Jain holds that collecting different opposition forces within the SJD does not at all mean the establishment of a viable party. Such an ill-assorted conglomeration, in his view, by no means facilitates the unity of the opposition on a principled foundation and is bound to disintegrate.

We should also bear in mind that it seems extremely doubtful whether they will be able to realize their plans to unite such widely different forces – from the extreme right to the extreme left – in their struggle against the Indian National Congress (I). For instance, both Communist parties, though energetically criticizing Gandhi's internal policy, stipulate a series of conditions to their participating in the opposition bloc. In its turn, the most influential party, Bharatiya Janata, excludes even the possibility of any pre-electoral collaboration with the Communists.

Nevertheless, local political circles maintain that the 1989 general election will be a bitter contest between the ruling party and the opposition. And this is largely due to the complex and contradictory nature of the present political and socio-economic situation in India. In its 48 months in power the Rajiv Gandhi government has ensured stability with regard to domestic policy and the economic situation inside the country. The situation has been normalized in Assam and Mizoram, which were for a long time gripped by nationalist feeling, and some progress has been made in resolving the situation in Punjab, though the back of the separatist underground has not yet been broken.

No immediate results

Progress is being made in the development of the programme to modernize the Indian economy on the basis of the active utilization of advanced foreign technology and enlisting large-scale help from foreign capital. Indian industry is doing fairly well. In spite of the very severe drought that hit most regions of the country last year and greatly damaged agriculture, rather than going down,India's gross national product has actually increased by 2 per cent.

The Rajiv Gandhi government, which sees the war on poverty and unemployment as one of its major commitments, is constantly increasing allocations to programmes aimed at improving the living conditions of the most socio-economically backward strata of the population. True, the steps the central government takes are by no means always productive. Instructions from the Gandhi administration are frequently ignored or even sabotaged by state governments. The bureaucratic machine, which often has close links with feudal-landowing circles, scuttles economic programmes introduced by the Indian National Congress (I). As a result, the living conditions of the urban and rural poor are not improving, and this, in turn, engenders resentment on the part of the people as a whole towards the domestic policies of the Indian National Congress (I). Other problems also persist – economic and social inequality, mass unemployment, religious and caste prejudice that frequently result in communal feuding, rapid population growth... Many, however, expect the government to produce immediate results, which in reality are unlikely to be forthcoming...

There are also problems within the Congress party proper. Many local ruling party organizations are indulging in factional feuds and rivalry between different groupings. Recently ten prominent members of Parliament from the Indian National Congress (I) sent a letter to Rajiv Gandhi, who is also President of the ruling party, emphasizing the need for a considerable extension of democracy within the party and stronger links between the central leadership and local party organizations.

It seems to me that the answer to this letter, as to many other problems facing the country and the ruling party, was given by Rajiv Gandhi in his interview to the newspaper The Hindustan Times. "I do not think," he stated, "that India can go forward to realize its potential without persevering on the path of reform. Naturally reform is not painless... It does not worry me because I know the people of India want change, and the people of India want a speeding up of the social and economic transformation that we are committed to bringing about. There is, therefore, a struggle between those who would like change to take place and those who wish to remain in the grooves of inherited orthodoxy. In this struggle, I am firmly on the side of the forces of change and reform."

Sergei Irodov,
our own correspondent
DELHI

In recent weeks Kabul has been subjected to almost daily missile attacks by the extremist Afghan opposition. They cannot complain of a shortage of missiles.

After one such shelling I visited the Karte Char District, where in a small square I saw a spontaneous protest meeting by some 50 people.

"Nothing is sacred to the bandits," shouted a poorly dressed old man. "It is Friday today, a holy day for all Muslims. And I saw the mullah at our mosque killed as he performed his morning namaz..."

A middle-aged Afghan intervenes. "True believers," he declares, "my wife and daughter both perished today. They were killed by the mujahedeens. Again mourning has come to my home – my brother was killed by an explosion in Jalalabad a month ago."

How many such families are there in Afghanistan today?... Thousands, tens of thousands. People express their anger in different ways, but the meaning of what they say comes down to the fact that the blame for the shellings and terror perpetrated by the extremists is shared by their Pakistani benefactors. It is they who, in violation of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, continue to supply arms and ammunition to armed opposition units and assist them in infiltrating Afghan territory.

177 missiles were fired on Kabul between July 15 and 20. 75 civilians were killed (among them 21 children) and 97 wounded.

It is not only Kabul that is being subjected to rebel attacks. Other cities, provincial and district centres, too, come under missile, artillery and mortar fire. Dozens and even hundreds of civilians are killed. Still more are wounded or maimed. Homes, schools and mosques are being destroyed.

The Afghan government has set up an extraordinary commission to assess the damage and distribute money, food and clothing to the victims.

Strictly on schedule

...A column of Soviet military vehicles, several kilometres long, moves slowly through the streets of Kabul. It pulls out of the city centre and enters a highway leading north to the Afghan-Soviet border. One after another, Soviet units are leaving Afghanistan – strictly on schedule.

"Opposition armed units have been trying to complicate the return home of Soviet troops," says Major General Alexander Zakharov, head of the political department of the Soviet contingent. "But they have not succeeded in doing so. None of the Soviet troop columns that have been withdrawn has come under enemy fire. All the strikes have been absorbed by units assigned to the outposts..."

People's Democratic Party renounces its monopoly

s the opposition prepared to shoulder the responsibility of sharing power?

The stepup in the opposition's combat activity has failed to disrupt the schedule for the Soviet troop withdrawal. This was corroborated by the head of a group of U.N. military observers, General Rauli Helminen of Finland. He told me the Soviet pullout from Afghanistan was being effected in good order, without any hitches. U.N. observers register their crossing the Afghan-Soviet border. There are also observers at Kabul and Kunduz

airfields: some of the troops are being airlifted out.

By now Soviet troops have evacuated from 19 of the 30 Afghan provinces. There, the rebels have opened fire on Afghan army garrisons, settlements and industrial facilities. I have been told at the Afghan Armed Forces General Staff that the enemy is maintaining combat action along practically the entire length of the Afghan-Pakistani border. The southern province of Kandahar is the hottest spot.

In the view of the Chief of the General Staff, Colonel General Shah Nawaz Tanai, the Islamic opposition is out to capture a region or major city in order to make it its "capital" and the seat of the so-called "interim government," whose formation was announced in Peshawar by the Union of the Seven.

"But we are striking back," says the Afghan general. "Primarily in the provinces of Nangarhar, Kunar, Paktia and Kandahar. And we pounce on arms and ammunition caravans from Pakistan."

The leaders of the Peshawar Seven pledged that the Afghan government army would not be able to stand up to the mujahedeens when the Soviet troops left. Soviet soldiers – I repeat – have already pulled out of 19 provinces. Still, the opposition has been unable to seize any major city – or even a small one...

The West seems to be getting a better idea of the true state of affairs in Afghanistan. The July 16 issue of The Washington Post reached me not long ago. It contains the following report from a correspondent: "Recently, the resistance has suffered several setbacks on the ground, failing to take garrisons and towns it was targeting on, or being forced to withdraw from several of them after initially claiming control. Statements by several resistance leaders in April that by June they would have control of Jalalabad or Kandahar, two major provincial capitals, proved overambitious."

At the same time, there have been more and more reports of opposition units, fighting the government inside Afghanistan, going over to the side of the authorities or abandoning the armed struggle and taking at least a neutral stand...

I have had a chance to meet the commander of one such unit. 30-year-old Maiwajan and his 900 men fought Soviet and Afghan troops in the Kabul area for almost nine years. Recently, he ceased hostilities and began a dialogue with the government.

"We reached the decision when we learned of the signing of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, whereby Soviet troops would leave the country," says Maiwajan. "We agreed to contact the Kabul government in spite of a strict ban by the Union of the Seven, which ordered the mujahedeens to continue the struggle until victory – the overthrow of the Najibullah regime. But we believe that Afghans can and should find agreement amongst themselves."

The new Aghan government recently received a vote of confidence in the National Council, the country's legislature. Lower House deputies and senators hold different, sometimes opposing political views. But they are united by the desire to do everything to create the conditions for a dialogue not only with individual leaders of opposition armed units, but also with the opposition leadership itself. The new government is headed by Dr Mohammad Hassan Sharq, a veteran political figure of truly national renown. He is not a member of the People's Democratic Party.

Talking to me, Dr Sharq outlined the goals of his coalition cabinet: "National reconciliation, peace in the country, the revival of the war-ravaged economy and help to returning refugees."

The government coalition includes the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Revolutionary Organization of the Working People of Afghanistan and the Peasants' Justice Party. However, most ministerial posts have gone to people unaffiliated with any of these parties, and this reflects the real balance of forces in Afghanistan. In the view of Prime Minister Sharq, the composition of the government reaffirms in practical terms the PDPA's renunciation of its monopoly on power.

"All members of the government," says Dr Sharq, "are united by confidence that the restoration of peace and calm in the country is feasible. That is why I believe the cabinet can be called a government of national unity, although the Islamic opposition is not represented in it. But that is not our fault. All our former proposals to the leaders of the Union of the Seven still stand. The only condition is an end to the armed struggle and the start of a dialogue.

Boris Gan
Kabul

The Kampuchean knot

The Bogor meeting has opened up the way to reconciliation between the feuding parties

An informal meeting in the Indonesian town of Bogor on June 25-28 considered a settlement to one of the most complex regional conflicts, that in Kampuchea. Its agenda was agreed on a year ago by the Vietnamese and Indonesian foreign ministers, speaking on behalf of the countries of Indo-China (Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos) and the Association of Southest Asian Nations (ASEAN) respectively.

There are internal and external aspects to a Kampuchean settlement. The Kampucheans should decide their domestic affairs for themselves, and other problems with the participation of interested states. It was therefore planned, as a first stage, to hold a meeting in Bogor between the Kampuchean government and the opposition groups of Prince Sihanouk, Son Sann and the Khmer Rouge, and, as a second stage, to have an exchange of opinions between the Kampucheans and representatives of Vietnam, Laos and ASEAN states.

Right up to the start of the meeting attempts had been made to reduce the problem to talks between the Khmer opposition groups and Vietnam on the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. In this way the internal and external aspects of a settlement could be confused, and one of the key questions – preventing a comeback of the Pol Pot régime – would have been removed from the agenda. But the Indo-China states were able to uphold the agreement reached, and the meeting ultimately took place as planned.

This was possible thanks to considerable changes that have occurred both within Kampuchea and outside it over the past year. The government is in firm control of the country. By late 1989 or early 1990 the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops will have been completed. Whether or not a political settlement is achieved, it has become clear that the Kampuchean problem in its present form, when the West, ASEAN and China are placing the emphasis on the pullout of Vietnamese forces, will have ceased to exist.

Hun Sen, head of the Kampuchean delegation, right, shaking hands with Son Sann, one of the opposition leaders. Only recently this would have been impossible...
From the International Herald Tribune

But one problem will persist. What will Kampuchea be like after the evacuation of Vietnamese troops? Will it be a peaceful, neutral, non-aligned and democratic state, as has been proposed by the Kampuchean government, or will it again be plunged into fratricidal war? The withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers must be linked with preventing the restoration of the Pol Pot régime. This position met with understanding on the part of all participants in the meeting, except the Pol Pot faction.

Most participants also favoured Kampuchea's idea of forming a four-party national reconciliation council led by Prince Sihanouk to implement the agreements reached between the parties and hold parliamentary elections. Were it not for the stand taken by the Khmer Rouge, the basic element of a national reconciliation mechanism would already have been set up.

The Sihanouk and Son Sann groups did not object to the Kampuchean government's idea of maintaining the status quo in the country before the completion of parliamentary elections, setting up an international control commission to supervise the implementation of settlement agreements, and convening an international conference to work out guarantees of Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty, neutrality and non-aligned status.

The positions of the Khmer groups drew nearer thanks to the positive contribution of Prince Sihanouk, who did not himself attend the meeting (his group was represented by his son) but stayed in Jakarta as the personal guest of President Suharto. Prince Sihanouk has abandoned some of his earlier unrealistic demands. For instance, he had insisted on dismantling Kampuchea's administration, disbanding its armed forces, and introducing an international peace-keeping force. This has brought the positions of Kampuchea and the Sihanouk group closer together. Kampuchean Premier Hun Sen and Norodom Sihanouk are expected to meet for a third time in Paris in October.

Judging from Son Sann's statements in Bogor, his group has shown signs of drawing nearer to the platform of national reconciliation.

Hardly anyone will now seriously suggest that the "coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea," which in the past, too, was merely a provisional tactical alliance of forces essentially hostile to each other, continues to exist. This can also be concluded from Norodom Sihanouk's statement to The Washington Post. The Prince noted that Kampuchea's U.N. seat, now occupied by Pol Pot delegates on behalf of the "coalition government," should become vacant.

There is now a tendency to support the formation of a new alliance of different Khmer forces on the basis of a national reconciliation policy. The Khmer Rouge are still far from adopting this line. They have not abandoned their desire to return to power. The attention of world opinion has now shifted to this danger, and away from the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops. Will the Khmer Rouge leaders be able to rise above their ambitions and adopt a stand of national reconciliation? The door to them, except Pol Pot and his close aides, remains open. What will their backers advise them to do?

The Bogor meeting, whose success was to a large extent made possible by Indonesia, ended with a statement by its Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas. It contains a sound platform for progress towards a durable peace in Kampuchea and Southeast Asia as a whole. There is also a mechanism for further work. It was decided to convene a second meeting of the kind in December, or January 1989, and set up a working group to prepare for it.

Yuri Nikolayev

Travellers on the road

From our special correspondent Galina Sidorova

The huge Boeing suddenly began to lose height. The Rocky Mountains, standing out ahead in the clear air, approached menacingly. The nervous whispering of passengers was over-ridden by the voice of the first pilot: "There's nothing to worry about. Several Soviet citizens are making their first flight to California with us today. They asked if they could photograph the mountains, so we are flying slightly lower to give them a better view..."

I was told about that incident of twenty years ago by one of my Moscow companions on the Walk who had been on that flight. When we were being taken over the Rocky Mountains, our Boeing did not lose altitude. But on learning who we were and having asked many questions about the Walk, it seemed to me that the stewards and stewardesses tried even harder than usual to make sure we were comfortable.

And so we arrived in California. The promised land of the Pioneers. Across mountains and deserts, despite sickness and hardships, they made their way here, chasing a dream, happiness, freedom and wealth. Not everyone made it. Not everyone realized his dream. But I would still risk calling California the state of the American Dream – because in its heavenly climate, on its fertile soil, amidst the palms and the sequoias, dreams do not die. They turn into hopes.

Ways of life

In California, as in the Mid-West, the old spirit lives on. First it is a spirit of wealth and prosperity: the state has virtually the highest standard of living in the country, maintained by developing the most modern industries, chiefly electronic, and expanding ties with the Pacific nations. The Americans themselves call California the state of the 21st century. Secondly it is the holiday spirit that reigns on its beaches and in its resort towns. And the third point is in remarkable harmony with the first two – the spirit of democracy and liberalism. It was from here, from the campus of Berkeley University, that the wave of student action against the Vietnam war began and swept the country. It was here that the most belligerent American hippies were born and grew up. After meeting some of them in San Francisco, I was surprised by one thing: they may have cut their hair, but their convictions haven't changed. At least, not those of Bruce Bartol, now a well-known composer who writes music for the San Francisco Mime Troupe – a political theatre that stages extremely sensitive political plays about Central America and other painful problems arising from White House policies.

In general it was interesting to see San Francisco – that unique Northern Californian city – through the eyes of Bruce Bartol and his friends. For in a sense San Francisco is the city of the idle rich. As a rule, it is those who have managed to save a very considerable nest egg who settle there. That has been the case ever since Golden Gate prospectors came down from the Sierra Nevada Mountains to live a life of pleasure.

And so a few words about my San Francisco guides.

One day our camp on an disused shooting range, surrounded on three sides by the mountains and chilled by the cold Pacific winds, was visited by a pleasant grey-bearded man in a 1968-model car. That alone attracted our attention, as one almost never comes across such cars on American highways. The owner of this vintage car turned out to be Spain Rodriguez, an artist, who, as he put it "wished to invite one of the Soviet participants in the Walk to see how San Franciscan Bohemia lives. "My wife and I," he added, "have recently visited the U.S.S.R...."

Concluded. For the previous instalments see Nos. 28, 31 and 32.

That day Spain Rodriguez, his journalist wife Susan and their neighbour Bruce Bartol spent hours driving me through the streets of the city, which reminded me strongly of the Big Dipper at a fair. To any onlooker it might have seemed that not only I, but my companions as well, were thrilled by this American city unlike any other. Its technically perfect bridges, built to last a thousand years. The crookedest street in the world – Lombard Street. The most picturesque Chinatown in America. Its streetcars, each of which belongs to the San Francisco Cable Cars Museum (one made at the end of the 1920s was brought from the Soviet Union). The Americans recalled their stormy youth. At the same time the Rodriguez managed to recount their impressions of the Soviet Union. Bruce spoke with enthusiasm of the theatre, and his trip to Nicaragua, and after supper at the Rodriguez' home invited me to take a look at his "means of production" – a musical computer – a small marvel of technology and an island of order in an otherwise chaotic and dusty flat.

Spain earns his money mostly by doing comics strips, in my opinion, sadistic ones. If he manages to get an order he paints murals on city walls – a Latin American tradition, or ads. Stroking his beard, he laughed when I said one of our friends in Iowa had described California as "the cream of American decadence."

"You'll find all sorts of art here," he said. There was a clash of cultures – Spanish, Indian and European. That is noticeable even in the architecture of San Francisco, where side by side with Victorian mansions you find Spanish haciendas and the skyscrapers uniquely characteristic of America.

There are many excellent artists of different schools. Avant-garde is blended with Indian and Mexican motives. If decadence is taken literally, then San Francisco is known as the world's AIDS capital. Probably no other city has so many homosexuals per square metre, entire blocks where they outnumber other residents, bars where they spend their free time, and an extremely tolerant public, albeit scared by AIDS. That too is a way of life.

Spain spoke of things that indeed jump to the eye. I was thinking that so many different ways of life exist side by side in San Francisco, as probably nowhere else in the United States. One came up against it throughout our Californian journey – from Los Angeles to San Francisco.

The first Californian home I visited was that of Mary and John Romo in Santa Barbara on the way from Los Angeles. Compared with the mad pace of life in that giant of the West Coast, Santa Barbara seemed a quiet provincial town with good manners, filled with the sweetish smell of southern flowers and palm trees. And Mary's and John's house was a model family home, with welcoming hosts fussing over us, snow-white walls with photographs of all members of the family, antique wooden furniture and a peace that seemed to envelop one.

Mary and John had settled in Santa Barbara in 1968. He taught English, she specialized in logopedics. Gradually they saved enough to buy a small house. Later they sold it and bought a bigger one. Eleven years later their home was worth 12 times what it cost them and they were able to buy their present one valued at half a million – a price that is quite usual for those parts.

John is now vice-president of a community college and earns about 65,000 dollars a year.

I asked in what way his college differed from others.

"Tuition at our college," replied John, "is virtually free. In the humanities faculties students study for two years, and then if they wish to continue their education, they have to go to a university. In the technical faculties people can get a higher education. Since technical progress is so rapid, many come back for special courses. In general, the average age of our students is 28. There are very many youngsters from poor and non-white families. Incidentally, sociologists have estimated that by 1995 California will be the first American state to have a preponderance of non-whites. Already the universities are teaching many courses in Spanish."

"And are there many community colleges in the state?"

"106, if I'm not mistaken."

Mary told me about her sons: "They're so different," she said. "The elder one who'll be finishing school in a couple of years, is a rebel. Wears long hair, doubts everything. In short, a hippy of the eighties. The younger one is absolutely different. Neatly cut hair, clean, with a fine sense of humour. They are opposites, but they get on well with each other."

John joined in the conversation about their sons.

"The younger one is typical of his generation. Vietnam for them is a long way off. Social injustice has become less obtrusive. They are busy with themselves. But what's curious is that both are interested in what's happening in your country, and their attitude to Russians is positive."

"What are your priorities? The elections are in the offing. Whom will you vote for, if you go to the polls?"

"I've practically always voted for the Democrats. And this time obviously I'll vote Dukakis, although at the primary I voted for Jackson. As for priorities, I proceed from the fact that America has ceased to be an island. We are part of a community of very different countries and peoples. My sons' future depends on how sensibly we coexist, how carefully we make use of the fruits of world diversity. It was these priorities that brought Mary and myself to the organization Beyond War. We would be very pleased if the Soviet participants in the Walk would be our guests."

Great individualism?

The Californians in the small towns proved probably no less hospitable than the Iowans, despite forecasts to the contrary, and thanks to their hospitality an extremely importnat discovery awaited me in Santa Cruz.

We were walking along the road, and, probably because I was tired and lost in thought, I found myself at the tail of the greatly extended column. My thoughts were interrupted by a greeting from a man who, I learned later, had been walking next to me with his bicycle. He introduced himself as a local – Dave Queston, an electronics engineer. Dave was greatly surprised that we had managed to walk so many miles. On a bicycle, it would have been another matter... I told him that American and Soviet peace champions had already held a Moscow to Washington bicycle rally. Dave said if there ever was another one he would be sure to take part. In fact he would like to cross the entire Soviet Union by bike. Turning to everyday life, he told me that several years ago he had bought a house in Santa Cruz. Then he asked unexpectedly:

"Do you have community homes in Moscow?"

"Communal?"

"Yes, you know when strangers want to live together in one flat."

I explained that we do have communal flats, but that few people want to live in them. They live there since because of the shortage of housing they have nowhere else to live and are just waiting for a flat of their own. It's true that sometimes young families decide to live together, to make it easier to look after the children. But such cases are rare.

When we reached our camp, Dave invited me and several others to his house. In the evening as he opened the door for

us, I understood why he had questioned me so persistently about community homes. His is one. He made it one on his own initiative. He invited seven people to come and live with him. Most of them are students, two are teachers. Some pay for their board, others don't, depending on their finances at a given moment. Food is put in the fridge for common use. Household utensils are also for general use. There is complete freedom. Friends visit the younger ones and from time to time they all get together. Some share their problems. Dave helps if he can, acting as house psychotherapist. If anyone gets tired of such a way of life, he moves out, and someone else takes his place. When I asked one youngster why he had decided to live in Dave's house, he replied: "I want to learn to understand people and myself, to be tolerant of other people's opinions and views..."

"Dave, you're a specialist in your own field, why did you decide on such a way of life? In a sense it only brings you trouble, doesn't it?"

"I want people to become better. That can only happen if they learn to understand and respect one another. And that can be learnt, for instance, by living in a community house like this. I like it when people around me argue, do things together and gradually you find a collective has formed, where people have learnt to be tolerant. Perhaps my aim in life is to help people become better..."

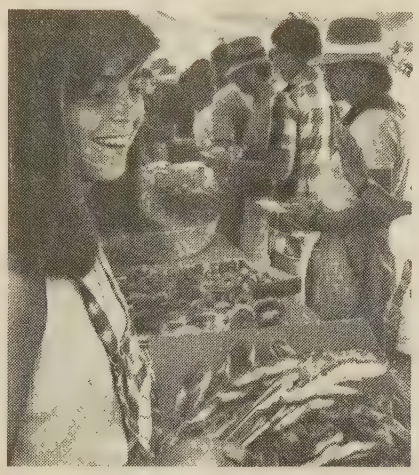
Is the nation of great individualists showing signs of gravitating towards the collective? Dave's community house is indicative – though not typical, as are the pot-luck meals organized by the churches and a feature of small-town life. An American paradox? Is it a paradox if we look at ourselves as a nation of great collectivists? In a society where for long years any manifestations of individualism were harshly suppressed, haven't we started moving in the opposite direction? Aren't we beginning to gravitate to super-individualism, bordering on egoism?

In a 1937 Packard

Probably the most valuable thing about the Walk was the mutual discoveries we made about each other. Now, when time is pushing some of the details of the Walk into the back of my memories, I find myself returning to two questions: what astonished me most, and what was the highlight of the trip?

What left me stunned – and I hope adult readers will forgive me– was Disneyland. I was amazed by its love and respect for people – young and adult alike. The love and respect that both we and the Americans miss so much in our ordinary adult life.

The land of dreams, the fantasy of that genius Walt Disney is unimaginable, deafening and hilarious. There you can find yourself and feel what it is like to be among Caribbean pirates, the first settlers, gold miners, and in the Amazonian jungle, on a space ship flying to unknown galaxies, guests of friendly



A festive breakfast

ghosts, in a submarine world, and most important of all, back in your forgotten childhood. Disneyland, on whose streets even adults catch themselves thinking that it cannot but be real.

"Disneyland will never be completed. It will continue to grow as long as there is imagination left in this world," Walt Disney himself said. The park, covering a territory of 160 acres and with a summer staff of 9,000, is growing all the time. In depth. The various attractions are constantly being improved with the latest achievements in electronics and holography.

I can hear the voice of sceptics: Disney's invention is just another way of making profits. Yes, the entrance fee is 20 dollars, but for that money you can spend the whole day there enjoying the various sideshows. Naturally, you will spent lots of money on souvenirs and the numerous glorious foods sold everywhere. The place has millions of visitors – Americans and tourists from abroad – practically the year round... But in my opinion, the profits are nothing compared with the happy joyous faces of the adults and children you see leaving the park.

Now about the highlight of our Walk.

It was the July 4th celebrations of Independence Day, America's national holiday. We celebrated it together with Americans in Iowa City. I found myself in a privileged position thanks to my friend Jean Lloyd-Jones, an Iowa Senator. She invited me to sit with her in the parade of vintage-model cars. So together with Jean we scrambled into (or onto) a 1937 Packard and attracted the attention of large crowds all along the route. On the bonnet of the Packard were two small flags – the Stars and Stripes and the Hammer and Sickle. Soon other vintage cars, fire engines and tractors, and all the privately owned transport boasted similar flags. Following in the wake of the parade to the approving shouts of the crowds were the participants in the Soviet-American Walk.

Mary Connor, one of the Americans on the Walk, told me later that never had she been filled with such patriotism, such pride in her country as when she watched that Soviet-American parade on Independence Day. "The respect you showed for our holiday," she said, "provided me with much food for thought."

There were many other interesting events on July 4th. The Soviet-American concert for the city people. The traditional Independence Day picnics in the afternoons. I remember Jean Lloyd-Jones's house and her husband and herself busy in the kitchen preparing the traditional hamburgers, corn, and apple pie. I remember the week-old Moscow TV International Panorama programme that Jean had taped to show us at the University of Iowa City, where all Soviet TV news broadcasts are received via satellite. But the greatest impression of all was of those small flags at the parade and the feeling that nothing like this could have happened either ten or twenty years ago. In these seemingly little things one notices the new attitude of Americans to our country, to the changes here they are following with the closest attention.

Of course not everything is simple or unambiguous in Soviet-American relations. There is a lack of knowledge, patience, understanding, and at times no wish to understand. And that is natural after so many years of mistrust and periods of open hostility.

The Russians and the Americans have completed their journey across America from Washington to San Francisco. But we still have many miles to go towards each other.

San Francisco – Moscow

Photos by author

Defence is best for stability

A matter for public discussion

Andrei Kokoshin, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

How do we differentiate between defensive and offensive weapons? What does giving up the offensive mean?

There is an increasingly pressing need to work out general notions and criteria for strategic stability in Europe in all its aspects – political, doctrinal and military-technological. The main impulse to this effort was given by the Warsaw Treaty member states' Budapest appeal in June 1986. It says in part that armed forces and arms should be reduced in such a way as to promote the consolidation of strategic stability and detract from the likelihood of a surprise attack and offensive operations.

These provisions reflect the views of a number of military and civilian experts, and Soviet diplomats and those in other socialist countries alike. Working in this field, they are considering a new formula for approaching troop and arms reduction in Europe (the negotiations to that effect that have now been in progress in Vienna for nearly 15 years have brought almost no practical results). It would be no exaggeration to say that the Budapest formula marks a conceptual breakthrough in the sphere of conventional arms reduction.

The setting up of a reduced-arms-level zone along the line of contact between the two blocs could go a long way towards detracting from the danger of a surprise attack. If the most dangerous and destabilizing kinds of conventional weapon are withdrawn from or cut back in this zone, the remaining level of military potential there will suffice for defensive action only. The proposal to set up such zones, with the characteristics of basic weapons, and geostrategic and other factors taken into consideration, is one of the fundamental proposals advanced recently by the WTO states.

Scepticism waning...

Soviet scientists and experts have taken note of the fact that the West has intensified its efforts to achieve more stable configurations in the WTO-NATO confrontation (the concepts of "non-aggressive defence" and "non-provocative defence"). This work has been in progress, mostly in the F.R.G., the Netherlands, Belgium, Britain and Denmark, since the seventies. Increasing numbers of projects of this kind are now appearing in the United States.

The Palme Commission has been largely instrumental in providing a favourable climate for such projects. Back in 1982 it published a vast report entitled "Common Security." It will be recalled that the Commission, comprising politicians and experts from the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom, were working in a difficult stituation in which Soviet-American relations had deteriorated drastically. At that time the ideas generated by the Commision were, by and large, not given their due in our country as well.

Symptomatically, representatives of conservative parties and groupings, and eminent military experts from the general staffs of some NATO countries, have joined in the discussion of the problems involved in consolidating strategic stability in Europe at lower arms levels. Moreover, these projects have attracted the attention of some major military-industrial concerns. This attention is not entirely disinterested: they hope to secure orders for the new kinds and types of weapon both sides will need for their non-offensive defence systems.

The career military in the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, who until as recently as 5-6 years ago were extremely sceptical about non-offensive defence concepts, have now also become interested in them.

Problems of criteria...

Following the Budapest declaration and the opening of the Vienna meeting, strategic stability in the conventional arms sphere at reduced levels of confrontation has been a subject of intense discussion at various unofficial multilateral forums. The Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, and the Soviet Scientists' Committee for Peace, Against the Nuclear Threat have organized a series of such forums. Soviet civil and military experts held an extremely fruitful dialogue with a group of Bundeswehr generals and officers in Hamburg last March. The meeting between Soviet experts and representatives of the special programme of the Max Planck Society (F.R.G.), attended by experts from Britain, Denmark, the Netherlands, the U.S. and Poland, proved most useful.

Discussions with representatives from the NATO countries were quite heated at times. We frankly voiced our complaints about the structure and composition, deployment, military doctrines and concepts of each other's armed forces. Our partners voiced their traditional reproaches with regard to the Warsaw Treaty countries' and the U.S.S.R.'s superiority in tanks, armoured personnel carriers, artillery, pontoon bridge fleets, anti-aircraft forces and facilities; furthermore, they are not very happy about the configuration of our side's troop deployment in Central Europe.

At the same time, many Western experts pointed out that important headway had been made in elucidating the Soviet military doctrine according to which the Soviet Armed Forces emphasized defensive action in repelling an attack.

In the course of discussions, Soviet scientists and experts drew attention to NATO's superiority in strike aviation, combat helicopters and naval forces. We also mentioned the fact that as far as we had been able to gather, the deployment and composition of NATO forces did not correspond to the principles proclaimed in NATO documents, according to which counterstrikes on a tactical and operational scale are to be the main form of combat action. Sharp criticism was levelled against the U.S. ground frorces' destabilizing concept of air and ground operation (combat), the NATO concept of fighting the second echelons and reserves, the U.S. naval strategy associated with the names of ex-Navy Secretary John Lehman and ex-naval head-

quarters chief Admiral James Watkins, and the character of NATO troop exercises.

It appears that of all three arts of warfare – strategy, operational art and tactics, operational art will have the key role to play in bringing about stability at the level of general-purpose forces and conventional arms. Great importance is therefore attached today to the elaboration of the principles of operational defence, its stability, and ways of ensuring its predominance over the other side's offensive operations.

This calls for a common definition of predominantly offensive and predominantly defensive weapons. Arriving at a definition of the defensive and offensive potentials of arms, formations and units is no easy matter. It involves multidimensional methods of matching the sides' combat potentials which call, among other things, for mathematical models.

Realistic propositions

It is extremely difficult to work out a universal criterion whereby to compare the quantitative and qualitative parameters of armed forces and armaments. There do exist, nonetheless, certain indices and characteristics that make it possible to qualify this or that system or facility to an adequate degree of certainty, as predominantly offensive or predominantly defensive. For instance, some Soviet and Western experts regard guided anti-tank missiles, mobile anti-aircraft missile complexes, mine-detonating facilities, various obstacles, truck-drawn artillery systems and interceptor fighter planes non-refuellable in flight as predominantly defensive weapons.

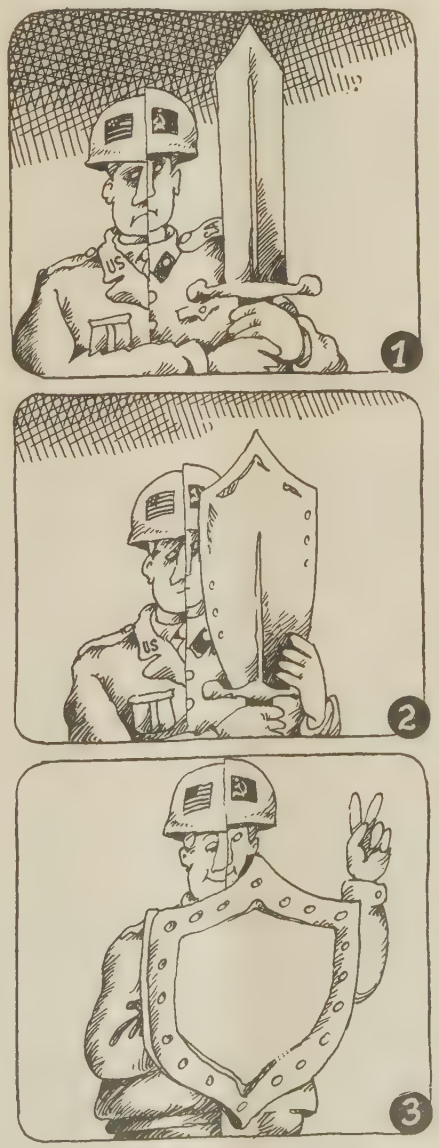
Tactical-technical characteristics which include speed, mobility, the degree of a system's universality, protection and vulnerability, and whether or not it is equipped with combat facilities for use in all weather and at night are seen as important qualitative indices making it possible to draw a sufficiently clear line of distinction between defensive and offensive weapons. Other factors must also be taken into consideration, such as the character of the forces' deployment, their distance from the frontline, the number of systems in service. If small, and stationed well away from the likely combat area, an offensive weapon system is not considered too dangerous.

In the course of discussions, the sides managed to come close to a common, if schematic, concept of stability.

Stability presupposes that neither side can conduct major offensive (strategic) operations or mount a surprise attack (on a strategic scale, chiefly) following a secret concentration of forces for the unexpected massive use of aviation and missiles, seaborne included.

– Tight restrictions are to be imposed on possibilities for a rapid build-up of forces deployed in peacetime by transferring troop contingents and combat-ready reserves from other areas and mobilization.

– Military activities outside the zones within which measures are being taken to ensure strategic stability at lower levels of confrontation should not lead to the upsetting of the overall equilibrium.



Drawing by N. Shcherbakov

– A regime is to be established making it impossible to change the balance of forces in favour of either side through the development (modernization) of weapon systems, both covered and not covered by restricting agreements.

– The sides' observation (intelligence), control and communication systems, as well as the structure and facilities of their forces should be such as to enable heads of state and the supreme army command of both sides to obtain, in the event of a conflict, essential and sufficient information, in good time, on the state of the conflict, so as to terminate it at the lowest possible level.

– The mechanism for interaction between the sides should contain "inbuilt" elements which would localize an armed conflict if political and diplomatic "safeguards" failed to work. Paradoxical as it sounds, the effort to prevent a war should not be restricted to the period immediately preceding actual combat action.

In other words, WTO's defence potential should considerably exceed NATO's attack capability, and vice versa. The result would be a shift of emphasis from the offensive to the defensive in the militarty doctrines of both sides.

The military-political objectives and strategic concepts of the two sides are to be formulated in exclusively defensive terms.

The regime is to be devised in such a way as to cause enormous material expense and moral damage to whichever side made any attempt to upset the equilibrium.

Although the proposed conditions and criteria for stability in the sphere of general purpose forces and conventional arms at a reduced level of confrontation are far from exhaustive, they can be recommended as a complete formula. It is necessary to carry on this creative discussion, with members of the public as well as experts becoming involved.

■

Let's face it...

Alexander Pumpyansky

Specialist in international affairs speaks out in favour of a law-governed state

The discussion on freedom is perhaps the most challenging discussion today.

In the 20th century the word "freedom" is often used in the plural and is not capitalized. It is presumed that a citizen of a civilized country enjoys a multitude of freedoms. If he does not then either he has no rights or the state is not civilized. It is not just food baskets that are different in the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. The "third baskets" under the Helsinki Final Act have different contents too.

It is customary to say that there are different notions of human rights in different countries. This is really the case. The right to work, the right to housing and other social and economic rights are included in the socialist concept of the freedoms guaranteed by society. This is undoubtedly one of socialism's advantages in the historic dispute between the two systems.

But there is also a different view on this situation.

Asked at a news conference in Moscow about human rights in the U.S.A., President Reagan replied characteristically with a parable. He said there is a young woman in New York who lives on a sidewalk all the year around. For her own good the police took her to a place where she would have shelter. And she went to court and won the case. The court decreed that she is free to sleep on the sidewalk if she prefers it that way.

The moral derived from the story by the President was as follows: This is how far one can go in a free country in encroaching on the freedom of a person who asserts that this is the way he or she wants to live.

New York reporters immediately dug up the story. It turned out that the kind-hearted police had tried to commit a homeless black woman named Joyce Brown to a mental hospital. Joyce Brown objected. She answered the President this way: Though I have freedom, I do not have a place to live. Why shouldn't the President, instead of talking about me, help me get a permanent dwelling? This statement was referred to the President by the woman's legal counsel.

Everything about the case turned out to be fairly mundane. Still, an effort should be made to judge the parable by standards other than those of literature.

The President in his own way has made us aware of a classic American moral precept: it doesn't matter what has driven a person to become homeless, what matters is that that person is free from the state control. He is free to live in misery and die of hunger and cold. Does this indicate that in rich America poverty exists as a social problem? Nothing of the kind. It proves that there is boundless freedom there. Ideally a person does not tolerate any interference by the state in his or her life, not even as an act of charity. So that person will institute legal proceedings against the state and win his case, as freedom is an inalienable right and no one has the right to make him or her happy.

It is true that each society has its own standards of freedom... This phrase is customarily used when human rights talks reach a deadlock. But, still, democracy is the sum total of certain guarantees of the sovereign independence of the individual. And if this sum total is small, then democracy is infinitesimal. And, it is perhaps high time we told ourselves and not our opponents that traditions of democracy in our country are embryonic, and that they reached their peak in the Novgorod republic... Whereas the traditions of serfdom, autocracy, dictatorship, and arbitrariness have existed for centuries. Long before the 20th century. Chaadayev, an enlightened philosopher, was declared insane. The Decembrists who were influenced by the ideas of the French Revolution and the American Constitution were sent to the gallows or exiled to Siberia.

Ah, woe from wit and from freedom... The relationship between man and power has undergone drastic transformations in our time. A sense of shame or concentration on the future might compel us to regard the debate on Stalinism as closed. But socialism is chiefly associated in the West with the Stalinist model of totalitarianism under which a man was nothing, a mere cog, a means towards an end. His hands and brain, his work, thoughts and life itself belonged to the state which could deprive him of his freedom or his life any time - such was the decision of the highest court, against which there was no appeal.

That horrible practice has been condemned. Massive reprisals have become a thing of the past. But there is still room for arbitrary decisions by officials at all levels, laws can be interpreted as one chooses, the court submits to pressure, there is persecution for dissent, the borders are closed, mainly to the citizens of this country, and there are psychiatric institutions under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior as a means of "correcting" the social conduct of individuals, along with other paraphernalia of a state that does not abide by law.

And all the while it was being declared aloud that this means supreme freedom and "the highest type of democracy."

The citizens of this country could be taught that terminology, but how were opponents in international affairs to be convinced that fundamental truths are not affected by such practices and that international covenants are being observed?

Any reticence or ambivalence in assessing Stalinism will have an adverse effect not only on domestic policy but also in external relations. The democratic, humane renewal of socialism is a task on a historic scale. And until it has been achieved, socialism will be changed with lack of freedom and totalitarianism, and rhetoric in the style of the "empire of evil" will not be relegated to the ash-heap of history.

The construction of a law-governed state in the U.S.S.R. is not just a domestic affair. It is the indispensable condition for our participation in civilized relations in the international arena. Otherwise we shall impart strength to those who want the confrontation to continue and enable them to turn this strength against us. And, what is more, we will not be trusted in vitally important matters of war and peace.

Rust is back home

On August 3, a Lufthansa airliner took off from Moscow's Sheremetyevo-2 airport for Frankfort-on-Main. One of the passengers was Mathias Rust. The 20-year-old F.R.G. citizen had been released from prison by the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet after serving only part of his sentence.

The Der Stern of Hamburg has purchased the exclusive right to publish Rust's memoirs. We phoned the Der Stern office and asked Kristian Foerster, a news department reporter, for details.

"Our next issue featuring the first instalment of the Mathias Rust story will probably come out two days ahead of the regular date. Our readers are looking forward to it with enormous interest. We saw Rust in Frankfort and showered him with questions about what had happened. Now he is already at home."

"May we ask how much the Der Stern paid Rust for the exclusive right to publish his story?"

"Sorry, the editors would prefer to keep this secret."

Kristian Foerster declined to make any comments on Rust's release from Lefortovo prison on the grounds that she had not been authorized to do so. The magazine's position was stated by Michael Jürgs, the weekly's editor-in-chief, whom she kindly put us on to.

"We are very glad, of course, that Rust is back. I think this important act of humanism is vivid evidence of glasnost in action. After all, your magazine also asked the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet recently to pardon the foolish boy. Rust's release is a real illustration of the humanization of international relations in general..."

"What is the Der Stern's purpose in purchasing Rust's memoirs?"

"First of all, we want our readers to learn, from the horse's mouth, how it all actually happened, and how the Soviet authorities treated Rust. We are not going to make a hero of him, however. Rust has got off easily, considering the nightmarish consequences his act could have had. He can consider himself lucky."

May we remind readers that on May 28, 1987, Rust's plane illegally crossed the air boundary of the Soviet Union, violated international flying regulations and, at about 5 p.m., flew over Red Square, crowded as usual, at an altitude of seven metres.

"Surprisingly, no landing space was cleared for me, though I clearly indicated by signalling and circling that I was going to touch down," Rust had the nerve to say at a preliminary investigation.

Incidentally, he landed on Moskvoretsky Bridge only after militiamen had closed it to traffic. Otherwise, an accident would have been unavoidable.

"Violation of public order was the third of the charges against Rust," says Anatoly Vrublevsky, an assistant to the Procurator General of the U.S.S.R., "and it was only natural, therefore, that he was found guilty and sentenced. However, the humanitarian act of the Soviet government which had pardoned the offender also has serious reasons behind it. The main thing is that Rust has impressed us as being sincerely sorry for his offence. In the course of my duties I had talks with him, and I witnessed him change before my very eyes. At first he had a distorted idea of the Soviet Union, believing it to be a land of ruthless world-haters. It seemed he had inherited the idea from his parents, who were much of the same mind. It came as a big surprise to them that they were allowed to visit their son, embrace him, sit next to him, give him books and other things he needed, and that all this happened in an ordinary lighted room rather than in a gloomy dungeon with barred windows.

"A prison is not the best place in which to educate a person, of course, but it seems to me that Mathias has come to understand a lot in the 14 months he has spent in custody. He read a lot of German books and periodicals that came from the outside, but not only that. Some of his cell-mates knew German and translated Soviet newspaper articles for him. As he learned more about our way of life, his views changed. He intimated to me that his previous notions of Russia had been wrong and that he regretted his escapade."

"Still, why do you think he did it?"

"Out of a desire to become famous at any price, to get a kick. At a preliminary investigation he said that his flight was a sort of peacemaking mission. This does not go to show that Rust is naive, because he has impressed me as a bright young man. I think his act came from the wish to do something extraordinary, something non-conformist from an aspiration to Bonapartism. Before his arrest, he stood in Red Square for about forty minutes without making any statements, just standing, keeping silent and smiling condescendingly. Asked by a West German tourist who happened to be nearby what his motives for risking his life were, Rust replied: 'none at all'. At the preliminary investigation he said he knew what his chances were. 'The odds that I'd get here were 20 to 80. But I decided to fly nonetheless.'"

Now he is extremely friendly towards our country. And one is inclined to believe in his sincerity.

All the while, he kept a diary, describing his everyday experiences, diet, impressions of meetings with his parents, and F.R.G. embassy officials, and other particulars. He has taken his diary with him.

B. Balkarei (Moscow)
N. Zholkver (Bonn)

Photo by S. Chirkov

The losses can

Prof. ***WILLIAM V. WALLACE****, Director of the University of Glasgow's Institute of Soviet and East European Studies, discusses East-West commercial ties in an interview with New Times reporters*

N.T. How would you describe the present trade situation between the socialist and capitalist countries?

W.W. There are no grounds as yet to expect more active cooperation between them in the near future if special efforts are not made. In practically all the European member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), the foreign debt has risen in the past few years as a result of a scarcity of convertible currency and a decline in exports, even though they have cut down on their imports. True, their debt is much less than that of the developing nations.

The dead-end situation in the foreign trade of many socialist countries has not appeared overnight. I dare say it is a natural, if not inevitable, process. As a rule, their foreign trade reforms have been half measures and have had a purely cosmetic effect.

Not long ago I read with surprise in Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta that the stock of unused imported equipment in the Soviet Union was estimated at almost five billion rubles in 1986. If my memory does not fail me this figure has remained the same for the past 5 to 7 years. It can be said to give an idea of the scale of this,that it equals Sony's entire annual investment in research and development.

N.T. What is the reason for this state of affairs?

W.W. I think the reason is that the Soviet Union and most other socialist countries have chosen a not entirely correct strategic policy in the expansion of their economic ties with the West.

N.T. Could you elaborate?

W.W. I have in mind, in particular, excessive optimism in their appraisal of the West's interest in the promotion of new forms of cooperation, such as the establishment of joint ventures with economic organizations in the CMEA states.

Secondly, there are no grounds for confidence that, having purchased and installed imported equipment, your mills and factories, which continue to be subject to powerful bureaucratic pressure of the obsolete economic mechanism, will be able to achieve a technological breakthrough and quickly learn to produce competitive goods. It is an illusion.

Thirdly, I think it wrong to look for easy, intermediate ways of ensuring the influx of hard currency and rely on the export of oil and gas as the principal sources of currency earnings. I hope you also understand how precarious any dependence on the export of raw materials is today.

The oil crisis of the 1970s and the quadrupling of oil prices proved a veritable "oil narcotic." The illusion of rapid economic prosperity thanks to the export of raw materials turned the heads of many people. But the oil boom could not have lasted indefinitely. Our experts and, as far as I now, yours as well, warned of this.

As a result of the drop in oil prices in the mid-1980s, the volume of Soviet oil exports went down by 13 per cent, and its value dropped by 28 per cent. Though 1986 and 1987 saw a certain upsurge, it was not enough to finance Soviet programmes.

The main thing today is not to save hard currency, but to look for ways of earning it. For this purpose factories should take the competitive plunge and sound out the market. In the socialist countries huge sums go on subsidies to enterprises making low profits or none, and credits and imported equipment are not used effectively enough.

It is necessary, in my opinion, not to tighten your belts but to analyze the causes of bad management and introduce the appropriate changes in the economic mechanism. Simultaneously with the austerity policy and the development of import-substituting flow-lines, your media are, as before, zealously criticizing Western protectionism with regard to goods that the CMEA states could export to the EEC in particular.

N.T. But isn't that the case? Doesn't protectionism exist any longer?

W.W. Let's take an unbiassed look at the problem. Protectionist barriers do exist, and they are used, and quite actively, both by capitalist and socialist states. I think there are more restrictions on the operation of Western companies in the CMEA states than on the operation of socialist enterprises in the West.

But, strictly speaking, who is to blame for the fact that Soviet factories are still unable to mass produce goods that can compete with those of developing, not to mention industrial states? Is protectionism entirely to blame?

N.T. You talk about competition. But the duty imposed on Soviet finished articles in the West is so high that it inevitably makes them less competitive. It will also be recalled that Western companies have bought licences in the Soviet Union to produce units for the continuous casting of steel and the dry quenching of coke, welding equipment, turbo-drills, and medical instruments.

W.W. More examples could be cited. but let's compare these figures: last year Soviet organizations patented 121 technologies in the United States, whereas Japan patented 17,288, the Federal Republic of Germany – 8,030, France – 2,990, Great Britain – 2,967, and Canada – 1,769.

N.T. How are we to find a way out of what you have called the dead-end in East-West trade?

W.W. This is a difficult question, be-

Drawing by Vladimir Sviridov

be too serious

cause there are a great many probables involved. That's why I shall not dare give a simple answer or, less so, offer miraculous remedies.

Of course, changes for the better are plain to see. A radical economic reform is under way in practically all the socialist countries. The right to self-management in factories is being expanded, and the idea of self-financing has prevailed.

N.T. At last, you've found something positive to note.

W.W. I'm not going either to exaggerate or belittle the significance of the changes taking place in the socialist countries. For instance, the Soviet Union has partially reformed its system of running foreign trade activity, with the result that about ten per cent of its foreign trade volume has theoretically been removed from under the "concrete hood" of centralized control. It has also adopted a law permitting the establishment of joint ventures.

However, a number of outstanding problems weigh heavily on industrial plants in most countries of the socialist community. The changes are taking place much more slowly than expected, and the results fall short of planned targets. This was also stressed in the documents of the party conferences recently held in the Soviet Union, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia.

Progress in this respect is only possible if dogmatic concepts are thrown overboard. In China, for instance, the success of the reforms is largely explained by the recognition of its place in the world's "table of ranks." There is no longer a need to engage in wishful thinking. Experience shows that a considerable advance can be made in a relatively short time if work is organized properly and political stereotypes and delusions are abandoned.

N.T. What do you mean by that?

W.W. I mean, in particular, the so-called free economic zones, or areas enjoying special status and rights in the promotion of trade and economic ties with the West. In the mid-1980s there were about 600 such zones in the world – close on 130 in Asia, more than 110 in Western Europe, and about 100 in North America.

N.T. Such zones exist in Romania, and are being set up on the bank of the Danube in Bulgaria.

W.W. These are only initial, though important, steps. I think the socialist countries are treating the idea with exaggerated fear.

Not long ago I returned from Shenzhen, China, where a special economic zone, the largest in the country, has been in the making since 1980. A total of 9.1 billion yuans has been invested there over this period; six industrial areas have been established and 1,200 enterprises in 32 branches of industry set up. The volume of gross output has increased 20 times over, and exports have exceeded 700 million dollars.

The experience of special economic zones in industrial countries shows that the more comprehensive and multi-purpose such a zone is, the fewer restrictions are imposed in the process of establishing it, and the more tangible are the results it yields.

N.T. What prevents the use of new forms of cooperation?

W.W. Broader East-West cooperation is being hindered by influential political forces that are not particularly interested in a healthy international political and economic situation.

N.T. The CMEA and the EEC have recently established official relations. In this way both sides have recognized each other, and a basis has been provided for subsequent cooperation.

W.W. That's right. But the talks lasted 12 years...

It is vitally important for the bureaucratic apparatus, regardless of its nationality, to hold the reins of government in its hands. I see here the reason for new attempts at an excessive ideologization of foreign economic relations, and the intimidation of the population by the "Soviet military threat" on one side, and the "restoration of capitalism" on the other. It is a tested method, but it leads into a blind alley.

Business circles, especially in Europe, are extremely interested in expanding economic contacts, and this interest should not be stamped out by unwarranted political and economic restrictions. Otherwise mutual losses could be very serious, and they will not be confined to the economic sphere.

Sergei Abramov, Igor Oleinik

READ NEW TIMES IN GREEK

Since January 1988 New Times has been published monthly in Greek by Nei Keri Elladas, EPE, Athens.

If you wish to take a yearly subscription to the Greek-language edition, send a 20-dollar cheque to Nei Keri Elladas, EPE, Nikis 24, 105 57 Athens, or transfer the above sum to its account No. 104/4708338-57 in the National Bank of Greece S.A., Syntagma Sq. branch 10, 6 Karageorghi Servias Str., indicating your name, address and telephone No.

Yearly subscription: 20 U.S. dollars

Price of one issue: 1.60 U.S. dollar (postage included)

All the previous issues of the Greek-language edition can be ordered.

Nikis 24, 105 57, Athens, Greece

Tel: 3257392, 3233463

Nei Keri Elladas EPE

Who is to blame? What's to be done?

Two views on present-day priorities

Perestroika is gaining momentum. But in the course of it the struggle between the opposing forces is growing sharper. It is a struggle between the elements of acceleration and the elements that hinder the process. How to carry on the struggle, simultaneously ensuring the socialist pluralism of ideas? With drawn swords or in a tactful, civilized manner, respecting the opponents and their opinions and recognizing dissidence as a natural state of public thought? Two of our respected and authoritative scholars answer these questions in their own way.

Time for resolute action

Prof. Anatoly Butenko, D. Sc. (Phil.)

Each time a preceding period is summed up, the past being either lauded or vilified and great pains taken to analyse achievements and setbacks, sooner or later the question is inevitably asked: Who is to blame? This question is still relevant today when, proceeding from the decisions of the 19th Party Conference, we are with due modesty summing up the results of three years of perestroika.

What do these results amount to? And what and who paved the way for them?

All will remember that in undertaking to restructure Soviet society, the CPSU insistently reiterated that everything should start with a fundamental change in our thinking, as no progress in other fields is conceivable without that. Today, as we sum up all that has happened over the past three years, few will deny the striking changes that have already taken place in our mentalities, and in the intellectual life of our society. Fear of controversy in the positions of Party leaders is gradually on its way out, the highest officials are ruthlessly subjected to unveiled criticism and increasing numbers of people are involved in discussions concerning an increasingly wide range of vital issues. In short, with regards to mentality, democracy and glasnost have produced particularly striking results: public issues are debated today more broadly and freely than ever before, people are awakening to a new political awareness , and life is increasingly compelling each one of us to adopt a definite social position.

However, what is also particularly important is that in the upshot of the liberalization of intellectual life and social awareness, the basic task of perestroika's initial phase has been successfully achieved. Blueprints have been drafted as regards measures and reforms to be undertaken to renew Soviet society and create the necessary prerequisites for expediting the country's socio-economic advancement. Indeed in this period we have seen legislation drafted and adopted in connection with state enterprise, the cooperatives and self-employment that will qualitatively modify the socio-economic basis of our society. Moreover, this year many enterprises and associations have started to go over to new terms of operation associated with the enforcement of the Law on Enterprise. This has thus initiated the second phase of perestroika, where we have two interconnected processes, that of the democratization of the political system and that of a radical economic reform.

With one of its basic objectives being to analyze the implementation of the decisions of the 27th Party Congress, the 19th Party Conference summed up some of the results of perestroika and outlined ways and means for further promoting it.

What conclusions did the Party Conference draw, which were developed in a concrete way at the recent plenum of the CPSU Central Committee held to discuss practical ways of carrying the conference decisions?

The need had already been noted by the CPSU Central Committee at its June 1987 Plenum, when it was obvious that the extremely important decisions that the Central Committee had passed at its previous Plenum had not produced the pratical results desired, to combine the attainment of long-term strategic objectives with satisfying the people's vital requirements in the highest possible degree. It was plain that the structural perestroika, the radical economic reform and the restructuring of the political system were processes of a fundamental nature demanding time and considerable efforts and resources. However, in the effort to achieve fundamental objectives it was essential simultaneously to cope immediately with the urgent question of raising living standards, inasmuch as that is the only way in which the ideas of perestroika can take firm root at once in the people's minds and in daily living.

It was from this dual consideration of coping with fundamental issues and gratifying the vital requirements of the people that the Party Conference examined the results that had been achieved. What can one say here if one is to adhere to the rule ***that one should be as exacting in principle on oneself as on those who went before, and analyze not only our achievements but also our mistakes and the lessons to be learned from our own work over the past three years.***

Of course, if we mean the general picture, the fundamental issues, then we can say that in these three years life has become much brisker, and here I mean not only that we have long jettisoned the old formula of "improving things without changing anything," but chiefly that we have checked the slide towards the abyss, and that both the theory and prac-

ce of socialism are being more energetically and profoundly revitalized. ***"The strategy calling for a comprehensive revolutionary renewal of Soviet society and the acceleration of its socio-economic development drafted at the 1985 Plenum of the Central Committee and at the 27th Party Congress is being unswervingly implemented. The country's slide towards an economic and socio-politicaal crisis has been halted."***

While taking all this into account, it would nonetheless be wrong not to see that the initial undertakings of perestroika can be seen everywhere: the atmosphere has become less stifling, the climate is better, and it has become easier for Soviet citizens to raise their voices and express their views. However, there are still no foodstuffs in many shops in many regions, prices are rising while wages are either not going up or are even going down because of the more stringent demands imposed by the state quality inspection and the new economic conditions. Hence, the Party conference drew the following overall conclusion: "There has been no fundamental change in economic, social and cultural development."

"We must be self-critical and say," Mikhail Gorbachev declared at the conference, "that we could have done much more than we have along the main lines of perestroika especially in the effort to enhance the efficacy of our economy and improve its end results."

What underlies the minimal results achieved?

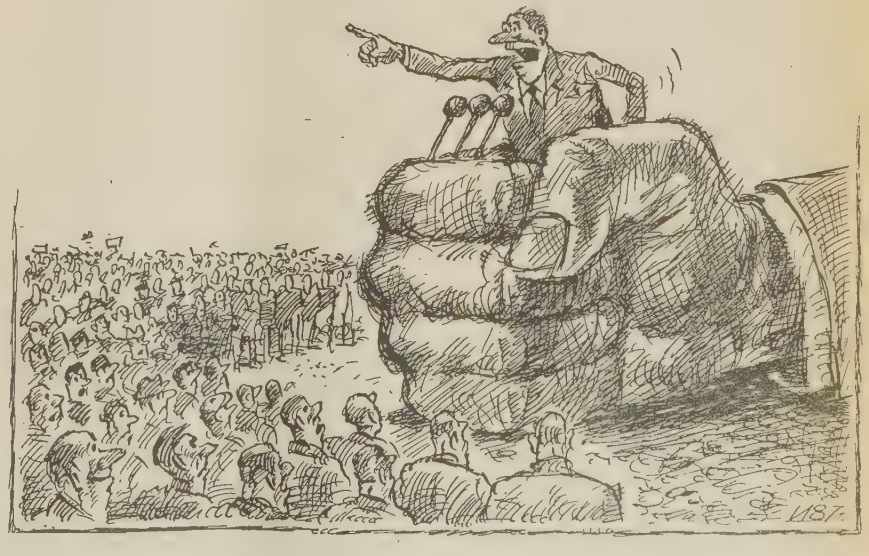
I believe it important to stress four factors, all of them *subjective* and associated in effect with the circumstance that the whole our society "has still not changed into the required gear," although it is high time it did so.

The first reason, which has led to the unsatisfactory results of the first three years of perestroika, is due to our *poor understanding of the conditions and objectives of our actions.* At the Party Conference it was self-critically observed in the main report that "we have underestimated the full profundity and gravity of the distortions and stagnation of the preceding years. There was much that we simply did not know, and we are seeing only now that the neglect in various fields of the economy has proved more serious than was originally thought." It would not be out of place at this juncture to issue a reminder about people who only yesterday bristled at what we now plainly see to have been an inadequate criticism of the negative phenomena and distortions of the past, which they maintained came close to denigrating "the services of past generations." They are not last to blame for the Party having "underestimated things" and are consequently at fault for the slowness with which economic change is being put into effect.

The second reason is that even where we had an adequate standing of what and how it should be done, *we worked without applying the necessary vigour and speed.* In other words, "much derives from the attitude towards the job in hand, from the competence of the leadership, and the ability to manage economic affairs in a new way." Putting forward this explanation we are bound to note the two sides of the coin, one of which represents the advocates of perestroika, the other its adversaries. Of course, perestroika's adherents, each of whom worked at his job and made his contribution, realise that they were not doing all they could to crown it with success, and in this sense each one of us is to blame. Yet those who refused to accept perestroika, and who actively obstructed it, are also largely to blame for the inadequate results achieved. Hence, while urging perestroika's supporters to work with still greater vigour, I think it would be wrong to shut our eyes to those executives who by merely doing nothing sometimes undermined the efforts of hundreds, if not thousands, of honest working people. What is one to do in such circumstances? After all, would not a call to such people to work more effectively mean something entirely different from what society really needs?

The third reason, as I see it, is the absence of proper discipline on the part of both workers and leaders, that is the flagrant violation within the Party and the state of the principle of democratic centralism. We keep urging and coaxing, although it should be high time to bring the full weight of authority down on the negligent! This again, of course, does not refer equally to everyone. The main thing is not only that not everyone works equally conscientiously at his job. What is especially vital here is to clarify what we should do with regard to the discipline of those, who in their departmental zeal, are prepared to stifle all activity on the part of working people when their initiative inevitably oversteps the bounds of the list of permitted actions drawn up in advance and rigorously enforced. How then can we persuade the adversaries of perestroika, those who have never undertaken to work for it, never wanted it, and who never welcomed it, but who only later paid lipservice to it, while not lifting a finger to promote it and had not the slightest intention themselves implementing the necessary personal perestroika?

The fourth reason, I believe, is *the vast squandering of social efforts to overcome the resistance of the opponents of perestroika,* callous bureaucrats and conservatives. It is enough to stop to think how much energy, health and emotion each of us is compelled to spend to surmount bureaucratic obstacls in order to get something that is absolutely fair and right done to picture the scale of the misfortune setting the whole of society, the volume of all the losses the people suffer in the clutches of the bureaucrats. Wherever the working man's social confrontation with the bureaucrat appears in its "pure form," one can clearly see a reappraisal of such statements that the efforts of the honest working man taking on the bureaucrat in the attempt to do something that is perfectly legitimate and the efforts of the bureaucrat to obstruct the



Drawing by Igor Smirnov

working man in his struggle, are both supposedly "still on the same side of the barricade." Perhaps it is time to deal not only with the conservatives, the bureaucrats and the other opponents of perestroika, but also with those who are shielding the opponents of perestroika from the working man's indignation and thereby undermining the efforts of work collectives and enterprises.

The conclusions of the 19th Party Conference with regard to the results of the three years of perestroika, with its analysis of the causes of the as yet unsatisfactory results achieved, could be instrumental in harnessing the efforts of the working people to promote perestroika and make it irreversible. Yet it follows from this analysis that by no means all Soviet people are equally at fault for these inadequacies. There is a different degree of blame. Earlier the CPSU warned that conservative forces were rallying against perestroika, that the confrontation between the new and the old was becoming more intense. It was noted in connection with the 70th anniversary of the October Revolutiion that "it would be wrong to ignore the definitely growing resistance of the conservative forces who see perestroika as menacing their selfish interests and objectives. This is manifested not only in the different administrative echelons, but also in work collectives. It is indisputable that the forces of conservatism will not let the opportunity slip to exploit each and every difficulty in order to discredit perestroika and cause the resentment in the working people. There are already some who today prefer to list our failures instead of rolling up their sleeves and getting down to dealing with them and finding new solutions. Here of course nobody actually says he is against perestroika."

Today, when more than six months have passed since the above sentiments were uttered, the forces of resistance have not ceased to operate in our society. However, today it is no longer enough simply to note the "growing resistance of the conservative forces." The important thing is to see their long-term goals and their current policy.

There is no doubt that in regarding perestroika as a tangible menace to their selfish interests and objectives, the conservative bureaucratic forces in Soviet society that are chiefly to blame for the minimal results achieved in the three years of perestroika hope to rally and, seizing an opportune moment, undermine perestroika and return our society to where it was before perestroika began. What they are chiefly seeking is to "discredit perestroika and cause resentment in working people" in order to produce a situation in which to try to change course.

What are the strategy and tactics of the opponents of perestroika today?

The further perestroika proceeds, the clearer it becomes that its opponents have selected sabotage as their main weapon, along with the tactic of drowning perestroika in a torrent of verbiage.

The conservative and bureaucrat does this by professing adherence to perestroika and a preparedness to do all he can to promote it in order to sabotage all its long-term and vitally urgent practical undertakings. Thus, by applying all-inclusive state orders – surely, this is in the mainstream of perestroika – they discredit the Law on Enterprise, thus stifling perestroika's paramount aim of granting independence to work collectives. Further, by imposing exorbitant taxes on the cooperatives – surely we cannot have cooperatives which the state does not tax – they discredit the Law on Cooperation and in this way destroy the desire to form cooperatives. Further, by using the commands of the state agrarian industrial committee – surely the committee is itself an offspring of perestroika – they thereby curb the initiative of rural workers and undermine possibilities of quickly implementing the food programme. And so on.

Also by subverting the implementation of the radical economic reform and obstructing democratization, the inertia forces are simultaneously bending over backwards to hamper the vital objectives of improving living conditions for the working people. However, the forces opposed to perestroika will be unable to achieve their goals if the CPSU, the mass media and the working people take up arms openly against the tongue-wagging idlers, if they are named, dragged out into the light of day, and the decisions taken in respect of perestroika are backed up by practical action, if the working people feel the tangible results of perestroika. That will make perestroika irreversible.

Towards Tolerance

Professor Leonid Goldin, Ph.D.

The sharp polemical exchanges in the press which have become a feature of this epoch of glasnost, the discussion of academics among whom there are less and less claimants to messianic pretensions, the heated debates among the "informals," and also the first Party conference in decades that offered an outlet for plain speaking on crucial issues – all have something in common. They underscore the need to learn to live in a society in which no one has a monopoly on the truth, which knows how to conduct a discussion, and where the opponent is not seen as a personal enemy or a saboteur out to derail socialism.

Today the main obstacle to this is conservatism, dogmatic thinking. We lived for so many years in a world in which dissent was inacceptable, strove so hard for universal uniformity of outlook, for standardization of our way of life and behaviour, that a single step out of line, a single dissonant note in the chorus even now causes many people spiritual unease, disturbs their customary feeling of being "like everyone else – colourless, small, inconspicuous, perhaps, but loyal and law-abiding." That is why we still listen willingly to banal platitudes from rostrums and are so intolerant of non-standard expression of opinion, any independent stand. And the one who has stepped out of line and upset the accustomed routine provokes an aggressive response from both the nomenclature feudal lord and the mindless "little man," moreover the phraseology used to cover up this mentality was devised long ago.

Today when the initial euphoria of openness and liberalization has passed, when it has turned out that perestroika, the affirmation of democracy, is not only having difficulty in overcoming the burdensome heritage of the past but is giving rise to its own contradictions, it has become abundantly clear that freedom and democracy are bound to put our society

to some severe tests. The periods of our history which to spare our national esteem, have been tactfully called the periods of "the personality cult" and stagnation," evolved a machinery that served them well – the bureaucratization of every aspect of public life. Contrary to assurances, bureaucracy did not make our society a viable, creative and monolithic organism, but until recently it did ensure its stability – we shall not speak here of the price that was paid for that stability in terms of economic, social and moral consequences.

How to ensure the integrity, the social homeostasis, in the context of democratization, broad pluralism of opinion, positions and interests – not only of individuals but of actively differentiated social groups? How to harmonize democratization with competence, with a sense of social responsibility? Let us not oversimplify the question – our democratic traditions are very weak, the ability to live in conditions of freedom, of respect for the rights and interests of other is yet to be acquired. "We have to learn to be free," Pasternak used to say.

Today too when we have not yet graduated from these universities, there must be not only guarantees of newly acquired rights and freedoms; the beneficial utilization of these rights and freedoms must be guaranteed, and society protected from extremism both from the "left" and from the "right."

A variety of ideas and positions, the possibility to voice them openly is the essential hallmark of a free society. It must be admitted that people who still believe we are indebted to Stalin for the building of socialism and the defeat of fascism and people who are convinced that few in the history of our country have dealt so much harm to our country and its defence capability as the generalissimo not only live in the same country but belong to the same party. That not only in academic institutions but also in enterprises people work side by side who hold wholly different views on methods of economic management, distribution and ideological work. That the attitude to foreign policy, our involvement in Afghanistan, for instance, differs so widely even among participants in Party forums.

While our political scientists and historians are temporizing and displaying their professionalism merely by reproving journalists and writers, the resultant vacuum in expert information is filled with a multitude of "homemade" doctrines and concepts relating to the development of socialist society.

Moscow's Pushkin Square nowadays no less than Hyde Park offers everyone an opportunity to compete in oratorical skill and free thinking with the most prominent politicians and ideologists. Soviet power here is represented only by militiamen who look on like casual bystanders. Lecturers from the Znaniye (knowledge) society and Party propagandists give the square a wide berth. That is perhaps why attention is drawn here primarily to proponents of Herostratic ideas and radicals of both leftist and rightist leanings.

There is no point in either the childish political babble and the idle talk – the most common variety of harangue encountered here – or the dismal demagogy of the witch hunters, the unmaskers of "conspirators" whose schemes and names are brought with relish to the attention of the unsuspecting public and the authorities.

But voiced here too are ideas that cannot be brushed aside or demolished by quoting authoritative sources.

Here are the arguments of an uncompromising "leftist" radical. The hopes placed on revolution in the West, on uniting the forces of the world proletariat did not materialize. Since we did not gain access to advanced technology and culture where were the promised material benefits, not to speak of the free and all-round development of the individual to come from? Besides, during the Civil War economically underdeveloped Russia lost whatever it had. The productive forces were destroyed and the thin stratum of the intelligentsia was killed off. Yet the basis of socialism is not the socialization of hoes and axes, socialism is a society with a highly-developed material and spiritual culture. Therefore, by the logic of history, it could not be established. Perestroika is a revolution, the beginning of real socialism; its main task is to return the factories and mills to the workers, the land to the peasants and the power to the Soviets. Today the question of who will prevail over whom has not yet been decided. The alternative to perestroika is the restoration of Stalinism. Hence it is necessary to de-Stalinize society with a firm hand, to remove the opponents of perestroika from their command posts. That is the principal guarantee of the irreversibility of perestroika.

At the opposite pole is Nina Andreyeva with her apology of Stalinism and her by no means crestfallen mentors and supporters whose voices are still heard both in the press and from prestigious rostrums. Here perestroika is seen as a bogey released by "unbounded glasnost," economic anarchy, aggravation of social antagonisms, the loss of control by the Party and the state over developments. And here too decisive action is demanded.

The newspaper Sovetskaya Kultura (Soviet Culture) published a selection of readers' letters under the title "We, the Undersigned." The author of one such letter suggests making a study of the factors "that made it possible for Germany / nazi Germany. – **L.G.**/ to achieve so high a degree of mobilization of the vast majority of the people, such a concentration of will and action, to develop such propaganda and organizational power in so brief a historical period. Were the objectives wholly evil? writes a worker from Rostov-on-Don. And here is how the question is posed by a reader with a scientific degree in philosophy: "Is the Central Committee really unable to deal with renegades, with ideological saboteurs?" This was a reference to my own article in the same newspaper entitled "To Everyone a Voice and Glasnost for All" in which I made a passionate appeal for tolerance, for pluralism of opinions. Truly, "Tu l'as voulu, George Dandin!"

As I wrote that article I knew, of course, about what happened to Josephus Flavius when, before a decisive battle between the Romans and the Judeans, he ran from one combatant side to the other urging tolerance and reason. And he was beaten both by his fellow-citizens and the inhabitants of Judea, and he failed to reconcile them.

Although I was far from any thought of surpassing the ancient historian in the art of peace diplomacy and compromise, I assumed that I had more chance of success because among my contemporaries, now engrossed in discussion, there are no economic or ideological differences such as those that prevented Flavius' mission from succeeding. I also believed that appeals for dialogue, for a variety and contest of ideas had found a response among those to whom they were addressed, that the concepts of pluralism and polyphony of ideas, still new to us, had won a place in the psychology and consciousness of our public.

The situation, however, was complicated by the fact that the tidal wave of

glasnost had badly rocked the ark to which a rather motley company had taken in search of safety. It was at this point that we discovered that agreement as to the need to move forward to new shores by no means precludes heated arguments on the key question: to exactly what shores? And how far should one venture from the familiar shores which, even if obviously eroded remain nostalgically attractive. In the course of arguments of this kind one sometimes feels that there are people on board the ship who do not belong there, or are there for the sole purpose of running the ship aground. Concrete proposals about what to do about these people are already being made.

The truth is, however, that all of us assembled in the common ark are destined to share a common fate. Nuclear war is not the only modern equivalent of Babylon. History does not guarantee any civilization eternal existence. And if we have awakened to the realization of the need for dialogue, for renunciation of messianic pretensions in world politics, then some conclusions have to be drawn from this for our own home as well.

Nevertheless both the "avant guardists" and the "conservatives" are as yet deaf to the calls for mutual understanding and compromise. This cannot be attributed solely to defective upbringing; the polarization of positions, the acrid debates are due to the complexity of the problems that are being discussed openly for the first time. Can one expect such dialogue to be totally free of negative aspects? Let people speak out! And act too, within the limits set by the law, the Constitution. This is an essential stage in overcoming social apathy, the lack of civic initiative, in accumulating life experience in conditions of democracy, and stimulating political activity and wisdom.

In charting the course of the development of the political system, the Party conference stressed the need to give free rain to the processes of self-regulation and self-management, to devise a mechanism for ensuring the free expression of the interests and will of all classes and social groups. This mechanism is called upon to replace the bureaucratized administrative-command system with the creative activity of the masses, to afford every opening for their initiative and at the same time to balance, harmonize the multiplicity of social interests not within the four walls of offices but in real life. Public self-management can ensure social justice, civic responsibility and stability immeasurably more effectively than the bureaucracy, which as often as not seeks to present its own selfish interests as the people's interests, thereby acting as the main source of social tension and the difficulties encountered in resolving it.

Today glasnost, pluralism and the awakened political energy of the masses have heightened the prestige and the strength of socialism as no other instrument at its disposal. They present a threat only to those who laid claim to a feudal monopoly of power, to the last word in an atmosphere of uniformity, fossilized thinking and a life governed by barrack-room regulations.

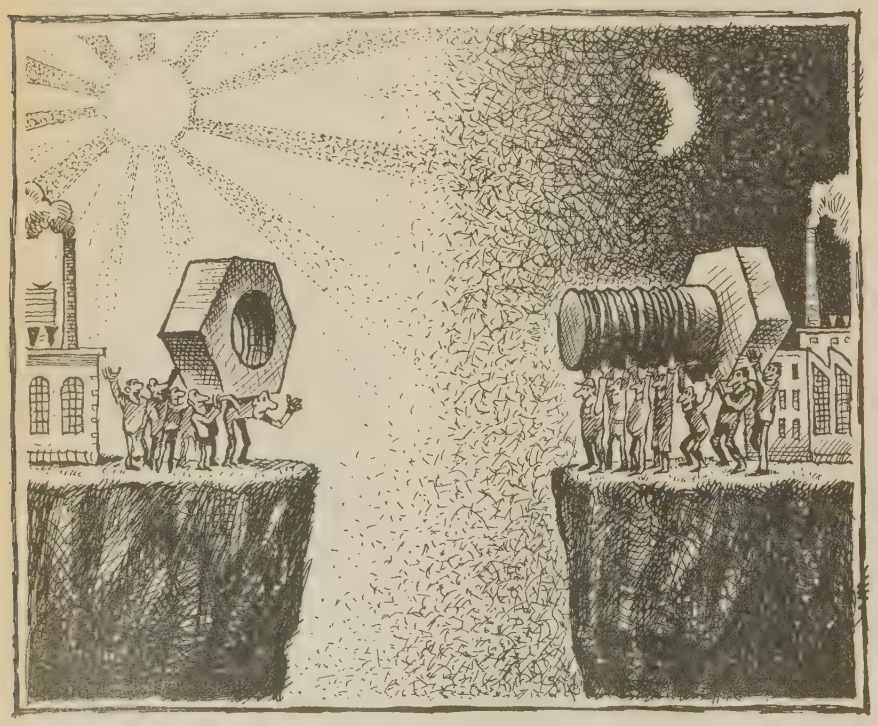
That unfettered glasnost makes for the progress of socialism is evidenced also by the experience of China, where the rule of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" is defined as a feudal-bourgeois dictatorship.

Honest analysis of that period helped the whole nation to realize how disastrous the previous course had been and to radically change the mentality of the people. Yet we are still pondering on whether we ought to tell the whole truth about the past or whether to put off for a while the publication, say, of Nikita Khrushchev's report.

Although I speak of tolerance, it too of course has its limits. Not to tell the whole truth about the crimes committed by the butchers is an insult to the memory of their victims. At the Party conference Boris Oleinik spoke with passion about this aspect of glasnost. But I am convinced that it was right and just to give the floor also to those holding a different opinion (and the nationwide audience understood them correctly). We must know the society we live in, we must have a clear idea of the alignment of forces – this is an earnest of a realistic policy capable of achieving – perhaps not as quickly as we would wish – the final objectives of perestroika.

On the other hand, the negative reaction of the audience to speeches packed with platitudes was also a sign of the times. But the conference displayed intolerance of another sort. The delegates could not but know that Grigory Baklanov, as the editor of the journal Znamya which is playing an enrmous role in shaping the ideology of perestroika, represents an important trend in the development of social thought. One can criticize this trend, argue with it, but surely not by noisy behaviour.

Intolerance of an untrammelled press that has broken away from bureaucratic control is today the favourite theme of all the guardians of our "fixed principles" who are concerned for our ideological purity, but who had no quarrel with the docile press of the personality cult period. I would like to ask this question: even when the press does sometimes misses the mark that does a hundred times less harm than behind-the-scenes backroom decisions which decided the



Drawing by Igor Smirnov

destinies not only of individuals but the state as a whole.

The practice of imposing one's own views and evaluations on others must be ended in all spheres of life.

Perhaps this is most urgently needed today in the sphere of relations between nationalities. If the forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum will frankly and honestly raise all the questions that have accumulated here, and if the speakers at the plenum eschew the customary stereotype phraseology, there is bound to be a lively discussion which could be fruitful provided it rises above national narrow-mindedness and if the blinkers of chauvinism are discarded.

The developments in Kazakhstan, the Baltic republics, Sumgait, Yerevan and Karabakh, relapses into nationalistic, Black Hundred demagogy were a severe test for the viability of our state, for the stamina and wisdom of each of its citizens. The roots of these developments may be traced to economic deformations and to a complex historical legacy, but the way to healthy relationships lies through public psychology, through the people's outlook on life which, unfortunately, is burdened by no small accretion of intolerance.

We need wisdom and tolerance also in discussing our political system, our statehood; no one has a monopoly right to decide what is good for socialism and what is bad. Our economic problems too – whether it is a matter of the cooperative movement, lease-holds, or the individual producers – cannot be successfully solved when emotions prevail over considered argument.

In that happy time the ink had barely dried on the manuscript of some literary dignitary when the TV, the movies and the theatres set to work to screen and stage it. Today he has to compete not only with Rybakov, Dudintsev, Pristavkin and Grossman but also with Platonov and Nabokov, and with Akhmatova, Bulgakov, Pasternak, Tvardovsky and Zamyatin who at long last have reached the Soviet reader. Formerly one word of criticism was enough to send high-level sponsors to the rescue. But nowadays the writer has to stand up for himself. If he did so by producing a new book worthy of the time that would be fine. But it is much easier to reach out for a weapon that has not yet been discarded – labels with a political tinge, accusations of a lack of patriotism.

In the economy the administrative-command system established for decades a rigorous authoritarian style of management which still predominates in this sphere. Lexicographers Vladimir Dal and Baudouin de Courtenay, who took a professional interest in profane words could learn from some of our captains of industry expression that would make them blush. Rudeness, unrestrained use of bad language in addressing subordinates and inferiors in rank have cost both the economy and the moral climate of our society a heavy price. Intellectuals of the calibre of Dmitry Likhachev, Sergei Averentsev and Irina Antonova are needed no less in modern production than in the sphere of spiritual culture.

However, the hitherto accepted image of an authoritative, strong-willed executive unfortunately has very little in common with that of the educated, cultivated manager the existing administrative system pitilessly rejects as something alien.

All these are relapses into the recent past. At the same time there are some deplorable new signs of unhealthy relationships, of social strains.

Envy, intolerance. Envy of an executive who, despite departmental red tape and financial pitfalls has by skilful management succeeded in running his enterprise at a profit. No one is interested in how much he has given the state, but the size of the bonus he received gives no one any peace. Envy of the innovator, the front-runner who at long last has benefited from the principle of payment according to work done. Envy of the enterprising cooperative member whose 16-hour working day interests his neighbour far less than the earrings his wife wears. Envy of a fellow artist with whom yesterday's favourites have to share popularity.

There is no little intolerance also of the mode of life which has radically changed in the perestroika years, when there is a demand for personality, for talent, for outspokenness and bold action, when the old formula of self-defence – "nothing depends on me, the bosses will decide and competent agencies will sort things out" – no longer works.

At times relations between the authorities and informal groups and associations become aggravated to the extreme. In many respects this is explicable: for a long time it was practically impossible not only for individuals but for entire social groups to voice their opinions publicly. Society has not yet worked out the guide-lines of mutual relationships; we are learning empirically, by trial and error. When tensions arise the authorities are usually blamed. But members of informal associations and those who take part in street meetings should realize that in the event of a clash their interests conflict not so much with official quarters as with those of other groups of people who do not share their objectives – this is inevitable in a free, socially active society. If the "informals" advance an idea they must look for ways and means of realizing it. There is the problem of means, a problem of priorities. It is not enough to call yourself a patriot and to denigrate if you want to restore a ruined architectural monument. Other people have other ideas as to what means and opportunities to make use of. Opinions differ for instance on whether the Sukharev Tower should be restored or whether the money should be used to build housing or a new hospital.

However much was complain at times of being alone, we have only to take one step toward a socially significant goal to see at once how many of us there are, so unlike, in this world.

Tolerance is expressed in self-possession, self-restraint, the ability to find our bearings in complicated circumstances. Tolerance has nothing in common either with personality-destroying lack of principle or with conformism, which subordinates the individual to the stereotyped opinion of the group. On the contrary, in order to preserve one's individuality and principles one must not react hysterically to everything, to opinions that do not coincide with one's own. What is needed is tolerance, wisdom an inalienable feature of which is perception of the multiformity and contradictoriness of the world; what is needed is breadth of vision unhampered by dogmas and prejudice.

It is wrong to demand for oneself rights and privileges that are denied others, you cannot expect respect for yourself, for your convictions if you ignore the interests of your fellow-citizens.

Tolerance is a word that applies also to politics, to public morality and also to everyday life. It merits a place in our lexicon on a par with the word pluralism.

It must be firmly borne in mind that self-perfection is by no means a complete guarantee of social harmony. In civilized society the supreme criterion of justice is not a developed consciousness, not a stable mentality, and not even the high moral standards of the authorities and the people. That criterion can only be the law, which unequivocally defines the limits of the permissible, and does not countenance arbitrary interpretation either by hot-headed demonstrators or by government authority. Harmony of interests is possible only in the law-governed state we are determined to build.

From the editors. The subject of the articles by two respected scholars seems topical for each of us. Today we know much more than before what forms the intolerance of dissidence assumed in our society and what irreparable damage it caused to our economy and cultural life. Do we not have to adopt one or another position in the course of perestroika, to raise our voice in defence of the "righteous cause," entering into a conflict with inevitable opponents? What "rules of the game" are accepted and what ways, if any, are found towards mutual understanding for the common good? Or whether passions flare up and unlawful methods are used?

Let's discuss all this by drawing mainly on our own experience.

WE LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING FROM YOU.

OBSERVER'S VIEW

Speaking out

Alexander Didusenko

Glasnost or Interference?

To start with a personal reminiscence: in the late 1960s I worked as a correspondent for one of our national newspapers in Czechoslovakia. The situation in Czechoslovakia at the time was not simple.

Extensive development has brought economy into a deadlock. There had been problems in the work of government bodies, the approach to the nationalities question, the activities of public organizations. And these problems had accumulated. Criticism of shortcomings increasingly often developed into criticism of the model of socialism in the country as a whole, and of the guiding role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in particular. And the bewilderment of the highest echelon of the party and national leadership faced with these problems, the lack of consensus as to the causes of difficulties and ways of coping with them was becoming more obvious.

In short, the situation was getting more disturbing. But this anxiety was not reflected in the dispatches my colleagues and I were sending from Czechoslovakia. Only "favourable" reports – about the success of socialist construction, growing Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship, disinterested Soviet assistance, the use of Soviet experience and so on, were published. There were certainly other reports, but they were regarded as undesirable and did not reach our reader. We were indignant: we had been posted to Prague, but the readers of our newspapers had to learn the Czechoslovak news from Western radio broadcasts. We had been told politely that it was unacceptable to report negative phenomena, that this meant interference in the affairs of a fraternal country, that those who should be informed would be informed. And no one was concerned about the fact that when only the "elite" has access to objective information, millions at grassroots have to rely on misleading rumours.

But, perhaps, misinformation was part of the rules of the game. I remember how friends telephoned me from Moscow and asked with concern if there really were U.S. tanks near Prague, and if the Bundeswehr was going to enter Czechoslovakia. And how could we live in the midst of armed counterrevolutionaries, they enquired. And I shall never forget the psychological shock experienced by young people, the age of my elder son, when they came with the Soviet Army to Czecholoslovakia in August 1968 and discovered that there were neither American tanks, nor Bundeswehr troops, nor armed counter-revolutionary gangs there.

We have all become wiser with the passage of 20 years that have not been easy. We realize now that withholding information, misinformation and rumours can in the end do nothing but harm. We know that all this can and must be countered by glasnost, by truth. We have discovered this through our own experience, learning the hard way. And we are seeing the results. When we revealed the information about the Chernobyl tragedy, it cut the ground from under the feet of those who circulated rumours, out to gain political capital from the misfortune of others. Glasnost lifted the pall of secrecy from the "Yeltsyn affair." We noted with satisfaction the formation of an expert Soviet-Polish commission to eliminate "blank spots" in the history of relations between the two peoples, which have not been easy. Many examples can be cited. But while declassifying the socially important information to which quite recently only a limited number of people had access, glasnost prompts new questions from the general readership, questions that either had not suggested themselves before, or that people were affraid to ask.

The weekly's mailbag, incidentally, suggests that people no longer fear to put such questions. They openly express doubts about the need for many old "taboos," including those restricting the themes of reports from fraternal countries lest they be construed as interference.

Readers ask the following questions, for instance: Why is it that we are better informed about the views, habits, positions and political biographies of Reagan, Bush, Dukakis, Thatcher and Mitterrand than about the views, positions and biographies of leaders of fraternal countries?

What construction should be put on reports by Western radio stations that the recent changes in the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party were allegedly to the disadvantage of the supporters of perestroika? Stojan Mikhailov was dropped from the Secretariat of the Central Committee at the latest CC plenum and Stanko Todorov and Chudomir Alexandrov were dropped from the Political Bureau. And judging from the Bulgarian press, all of them were in favour of reforms.

What kind of agri-cities are planned for Romania? Why are there all kinds of false rumours about these plans in the international press, and what do journalists think of this?

I do not know what my colleagues think of it. I am convinced, however, that our readers have a right to put such questions and get convincing answers. They want to learn about things that happen in the world from the Soviet media, and not from the Voice of America, the BBC, and Deutsche Welle. It is therefore necessary to reappraise views on what is and is not interference in the internal affairs of this or that country. Understandably, any restriction of the rights of countries, parties and peoples to conduct their own policy, and choose their own course is out of the question. But journalists, the press, should not be denied the right to report this policy, express their views and make their own judgements.

And if someone somewhere still qualifies the opinions of journalists as interference and reacts inadequately to them, this will only mean that not everyone has yet understood the difference between the official stand of statesmen or institutions and the private opinion of a journalist, an opinion that far from always coincides with official views (particularly now, in the atmosphere of pluralism of opinions), but should only be objective and based on facts, an opinion that can and sometimes should be disputed, for only in a dispute can the truth emerge.

One more hurdle cleared

The signing in Luxemburg of the declaration on establishing official relations between CMEA and the EEC has put an end to the unnatural situation in which the two biggest international economic organizations were in confrontation.

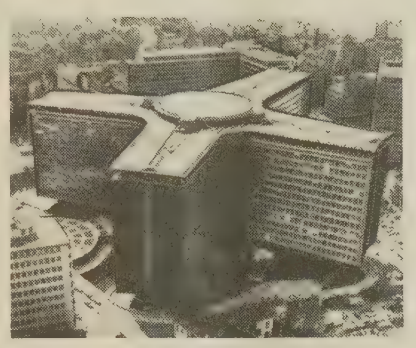
Early in July Greece took the chair of the European Economic Community, while Bulgaria became chairman of the CMEA Executive Committee. **New Times correspondent Sergei Svirin** asked representatives of both countries to state their views on cooperation between the two organizations.

ANDREI LUKANOV, Bulgaria's Minister for Foreign Economic Relations and permanent CMEA representative:

In establishing official relations with the EEC, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance is not foreclosing its options on developing contacts with other economic organizations. In this connection, to stabilize international relations, the CMEA countries are proposing that such forms of economic aggression as embargoes, boycotts, trade, credit and so-called technological sanctions, and blockades be abandoned. We must seek a better understanding of our partners, and be bolder in jettisoning biassed judgements and outmoded stereotypes in analyzing the situation in the EEC countries. Here we need new thinking, especially now that a concrete working programme for the cooperation of the two economic organizations is to be worked out.

Such a programme could envisage tackling ecological problems and carrying out joint research in the protection of flora and fauna, reafforestation, and the purification of air, water and soil. An environmental protection department has recently been set up in the Council for Mutual Economic Cooperation.

Standardization and unification must assume an important place in our cooperation. Prospects for interaction in the



field of science and technology are good. I am convinced that Europe will not be able to ensure its own technological future without joining forces in this direction. Next come questions of cooperation in the field of transport, industry and communications. By our joint efforts we must study the problem of ensuring safety in the nuclear power industry.

In establishing business relations with the EEC, we also realize the difficulties that will have to be surmounted: there is the problem of currency convertibility; the relationship between national currencies remains complex, as does their ratio in the convertible ruble or dollar.

PETROS DOUSKOS, president of the economic chamber of Greece:

The establishment of relations between the EEC and CMEA is evidence that the two organizations are overcoming the contradictions between them. Reason is getting the upper hand in international thinking and we are witnessing the advance of the fundamental economic principles of international cooperation that have been violated for decades by both Western and Eastern Europe. How otherwise can you explain the fact that the United States, on the other side of the Atlantic, has long maintained relations with the EEC, whereas the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has had no such ties for decades?

I am sure that cooperation will develop successfully, as the partners have a lot to offer each other. For instance, the CMEA countries have tremendous scientific potential. Western Europe has a dynamic economy. This is one area where we could apply our efforts. And there are other links between us. Something that only a few years ago was regarded useless is now becoming profitable.

The establishment of relations between the EEC and CMEA can also be considered a political victory for the socialist community. Monopolies once flatly refused to cooperate with public sectors in countries the world over. It is only after the Soviet Union gave its help to India and Iraq in constructing industrial projects, and to Egypt in building the Aswan Dam that the monopolies established business contacts with the public sector. It is the Soviet Union's new policy that has given the impetus for the democratization of international economic relations. And the signing of the Luxemburg declaration should be regarded as clearing one more hurdle.

The establishment of joint ventures is assuming great importance within the framework of cooperation between the two organizations. This is a profoundly democratic development in the field of production which, as well as manufacturing the main product, facilitates the ironing out of the scientific and technological potential of the partners. One should take account of the fact that the socialist community has much to offer in meeting the EEC halfway. Among other things, the socialist countries can offer their space technology, lasers and power industry products. East-West economic relations can become more balanced and more oriented towards the modern international division of labour. And Greece, as chairman of the EEC Council , is in a position to promote a fundamental rapprochement between the two European economic organizations.

SOFIA – ATHENS

Why Winston Churchill said No

Lev Bezymensky

The heroic and tragic Warsaw uprising (August 1 – October 2, 1944) is one of those events of the past war with regard to which there are more questions than answers. Why did it fail? Why were the losses so appalling? Why was Warsaw only liberated in January 1945? It is no accident that these questions are being looked into by the Soviet-Polish commission attempting to eliminate the "blank spots" in the history of relations between our peoples.

Forty-four years later, many things look different. While in 1944 Soviet people were more interested in the military-political strategy of those who initiated the Warsaw uprising, what comes to the fore today is the extraordinary potential of the people of Warsaw, who were determined to fight the occupiers – a potential that was clearly misused. Warsaw had long awaited the moment when it would be able to rise up in arms. It produced supreme examples of heroism.

Today we should not divide the credit for victory into "ours" and "theirs." The heroes of Warsaw share in this glory. Their memory is sacred. That is why our "historical lancet" piercing the tissue of past events is not directed at them but only at those who saw the past war as an opportunity for political machinations. There were such people too.

It will be some time before the commission publicizes its report. In the meantime I would like to look at a somewhat different "white" spot. I mean the role played in all this by the political and military leaders of Britain and the United States. At the height of the events, the Soviet Union proposed to clear up all the circumstances surrounding the start of the uprising. There were even suggestions that a special commission be set up. The British Prime Minister Winston Churchill rejected the suggestion.

Why? This is the question raised in documentary essays that have prepared from recent historical investigations, eyewitness accounts, and Polish, Soviet and British archives. Some of this material has never been published before.

"Without any prior consultation with His Majesty's Government"

The huge new Public Record Office building where Britain's national archive is housed is situated in the London suburb of Kew, on the bank of the Thames. It is quiet in the airy reading rooms. You can use a computer to order the necessary archive files. But open any file and the storms of past years invade the quiet room from its pages.

The London Archive contains many items about the Warsaw uprising. But when you look at them closely an amazing picture emerges: it appears that neither the Foreign Office, nor the British Prime Minister knew that an uprising was being planned. And this despite the fact that the Polish government in exile was based in London and had constant links with the British government. There were close military ties as well. But military circles were just as ignorant of the whole affair.

The first statement on the issue – dated August 8 – was that of Foreign Secretary Sir Anthony Eden:

> **It was a fact that precise information about it had not been given in advance to the British government."**

On August 14, Orme Sargent, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said:

> **"The decision to start a general rising in Warsaw was taken without any prior consultation with His Majesty's Government."**

And this from another Foreign Office document:

> **"The Polish rising in Warsaw was staged without any preliminary consultation with our own Chiefs of Staff."**

Finally, an unequivocal statement from Winston Churchill:

"These operations in Warsaw were launched without– prior consultations – with His Majesty's Government.

These statements were as vigorous as they were numerous. The same assurances were given to the Soviet Union, to which the uprising did indeed come as a surprise. As the TASS News Agency said in its statement on August 13, 1944,

"no attempts had been made to give advance warning and agree with the Soviet military command on any actions in Warsaw."

Archive files, however, contain testimony of a different kind: the outrage of the Polish representatives at the sudden "amnesia" on the part of top British leaders.

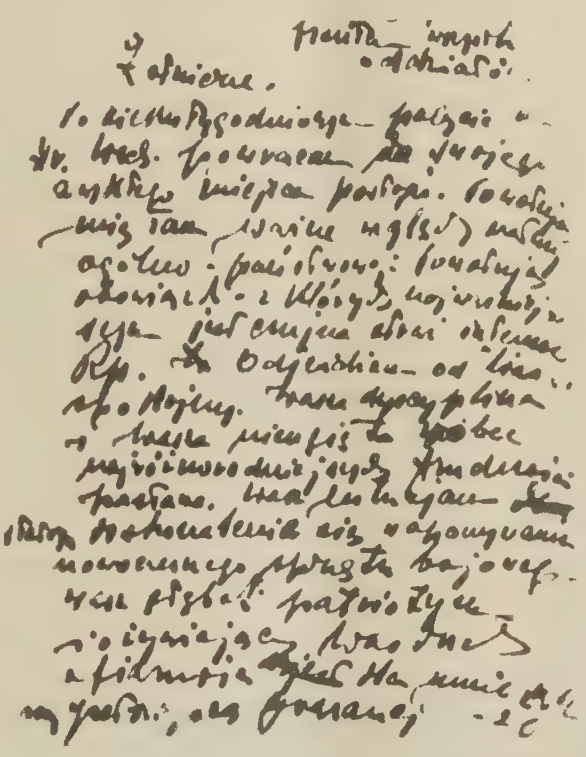
The Burza plan

Documents available in the London archive attest that the Polish government in exile closely coordinated all its military plans with the British military authorities and with the joint Anglo-American command, the so-called Joint Chiefs of Staff, to which a permanent Polish representative, Colonel Leon Mitkiewicz, was attached. The connection in London was effected through the Special Operations Executive created in 1940 (SOE). It was headed by General Gubbins, British directive No. 13186/61/G read:

"The Polish Home Army, being part of the Polish forces, under the command of General Sosnkowski as Polish Commander-in-Chief, is under the operational control of the British Chiefs of Staff. His Majesty's government have always maintained close contact with the organizations and activities of the Polish Home Army and the supplies of that Army."

How could it have been otherwise? Even from the military point of view the Allied Command had to take into account the existence of Polish troops. They included Polish forces in Italy (General Anders), a Polish tank division and a paratroop brigade in Britain. Finally, in Poland itself there was the Armia Krajowa (variously referred to in British documents as the Home Army, the Secret Army, the Underground Army) which since 1943 had been commanded by General Tadeusz Komorowski (alias Bor). This was an underground force which began to be created immediately after the 1939 tragedy. By 1944 the AK had a network throughout Poland. Its members were being secretly trained and were stockpiling arms dropped by SOE planes. According to official reports, the AK was 175,000-strong. Its doctrine was as follows: the army is not to get involved in an armed struggle against the occupiers, using only task forces, and to stand by until the call for an all-out armed rising.

Even then, this doctrine was the subject of bitter controversy in the ranks of the Polish Resistance. The Polish Communists and the units they led – Gwardia Ludowa (People's Guards), which became Armia Ludowa (People's Army) in 1944, considered such a wait-and-see attitude to be dangerous and not in the national interest. However, the AK leaders pushed ahead with their plan, as reflected in the Burza (Tempest) plan elaborated in 1943.



General Sikorski's last order, signed shortly before his death on July 3, 1943. His plane plunged into the sea near Gibraltar under circumstances that are still the subject of controversy

Analyzing the Burza plan, the prominent Polish historian Ryszard Nazarewicz pointed out that while initially the Armia Krajowa had insisted on a general uprising as a prelude to the British-American troops' entry into Poland, in 1943 it became clear that the country would be freed by Soviet troops. Therefore, the uprising idea was replaced by a plan for limited political demonstrations.

Basically, the plan proceeded from the "two enemies" principle whereby the Soviet Union, as well as Germany, was considered an adversary. According to the Burza plan, the AK was to wait and at the approach of the Red Army launch an action to take cities and towns from the Germans and establish the rule of the London government there. This was supposed to be a prelude to a general uprising. The most interesting thing for us here is that initially the plan made no provision for an uprising in Warsaw. It envisaged the seizure of several towns and cities but not of the capital. The logical thinking behind this was that such an isolated operation would have no chance of success. Two possibilities were considered.

"Hypothesis A: the Russians, pushing back the Germans, move in with their main troops. Hypothesis B: the Germans capitulate before the Red Army has penetrated deep into Poland."

The second scenario was considered to be the optimum one. General Sosnkowski wrote:

"Our cause will win completely only when Germany and Russia have weakened themselves to such an extent that final victory will fall into the hands of the Anglo-Saxon powers, who will occupy the German and Polish territories."

An absurd situation was emerging. Poland was groaning under the occupiers, the Polish patriots were putting up a heroic resistance, delivering blow after blow. The Soviet liberators were approaching the country's borders. But some politicians – notably in London – entertained vain hopes that the Soviet Union would be weakened.

In the context of history

Any concrete historical event has its own, often dangerous, logic. New data and details present themselves for careful scrutiny. This was true of the Warsaw uprising when I visited Warsaw, talked to participants in the uprising or read books that carry on the argument begun years ago. Some think that Bor was a patriotic well-intentioned man but a poor politician. Others cannot forgive him his decision to start an uprising.

People are entitled to have different opinions. But we should not forget the historical context. The events of 1944 cannot be understood by simply analyzing the discussion at the AK headquarters. Even if you throw in the arguments

between the London politicians, the scale would still not be large enough.

The scale was colossal. Let us not forget that it was **still** the year 1944. Although Hitler's Wehrmacht had had its back broken on the Soviet-German front, the invaders were still in the Soviet Union. Europe was under occupation. The Second Front had just been opened. An effective allied strategy was needed.

On the other hand, it was **already** the year 1944. There was no doubt that the anti-Hitler coalition was going to win. The question was how it would do so. What would be the shape of Europe after the war?

This was the subject of discussion between the Big Three meeting in Teheran at the end of 1943. There was a fierce argument in which the fate of Poland loomed large. Poland was a kind of test case for the whole of Europe, and not just because of its geopolitical situation – between Germany and the Soviet Union. Would the continent, as before, be divided by a "cordon sanitaire" of governments hostile to the Soviet Union? Or would a new Europe emerge, a Europe that had learned the lessons of history?

These questions exercised Soviet public opinion, especially after major changes in the London government in 1943. General Wladyslaw Sikorski – the man who had signed the Declaration on Friendship and Mutual Assistance in Moscow in 1941 – died under mysterious circumstances. His signing of the Declaration had antagonized conservative émigrés who wanted no cooperation with the Soviet Union. The 1960s West German play "Soldiers" by Rolf Hochhuth has Sikorski die as a victim of a conspiracy.

"I'm still sure," says Hochhuth, whom I have met several times, "that Sikorski was murdered. This is not a figment of my imagination. I have studied the material."

After Sikorski, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk became Prime Minister and General Kazimierz Sosnkowski commander–in–chief. The latter was an avowed enemy of the Soviet Union.

I dug up a copy of our magazine (then called "War and the Working Class") for the beginning of 1944. An article by N. Baltiyski (the pen name of the prominent Communist leader Otto Kuusinen) said:

> **"Poland was and will be a neighbour of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet public cannot but be interested to know what kind of neighbour the revived Polish state will be after this war. Will it be a peaceful and safe neighbour, or, on the contrary, a state maliciously intent on threatening the security of our Western borders and on disrupting the peaceful cooperation of European peoples."**

Significantly, the article provoked conflicting reactions. In the following issue N. Malinin (the pen name of Maxim Litvinov) spoke of the Polish politicians in London in such uncomplimentary terms that the editors had to note that the author was identifying that group of politicians with the whole Polish people, who were resisting the invaders.

The clash between old and new conceptions prevailed in relations within the anti-Hitler alliance. No other Western political leader was as keenly aware of possible changes in Europe as Winston Churchill. He wanted at all costs to have the old Poland within the Western orbit, even at a price that Mikolajczyk and his followers refused to pay. For example, the British Prime Minister believed that Poland's eastern border should run along the famous Curzon Line, restored in 1939. In the archives, the Prime Minister does not mince his words in talking about Mikolajczyk and others who demanded the restoration of pre-1939 borders. For example, in October 1944 Churchill

> **spoke of them as blind people bent on destroying Europe. He said he was not going to deal with their affairs and would let them sort them out themselves. If they wanted to leave their people at the mercy of fate they had no responsibility to their own country. They were indifferent to its suffering. They thought only of their own base interests. Churchill described their arguments as a criminal attempt to disrupt an agreement among the allies. And he concluded that they should be committed to a lunatic asylum.**

Strong language. But the Prime Minister had his reasons. Mikolajczyk's resistance, his claims and, not least, the abortive Warsaw uprising, so damaged the prestige and authority of the exiled politicians that after the war they had to be content with playing a very modest role in the new Polish state. What Churchill feared most happened. Old Poland had outlived itself.

But back in 1944, London still hoped for a different outcome. The British Prime Minister went to considerable lengths to ensure this, and he was not alone in doing so. Influential groups in Britain and the United States were not just "harbouring plans" but were actively preparing Europe for an outcome in which they would have the final say and the Soviet Union would have to comply.

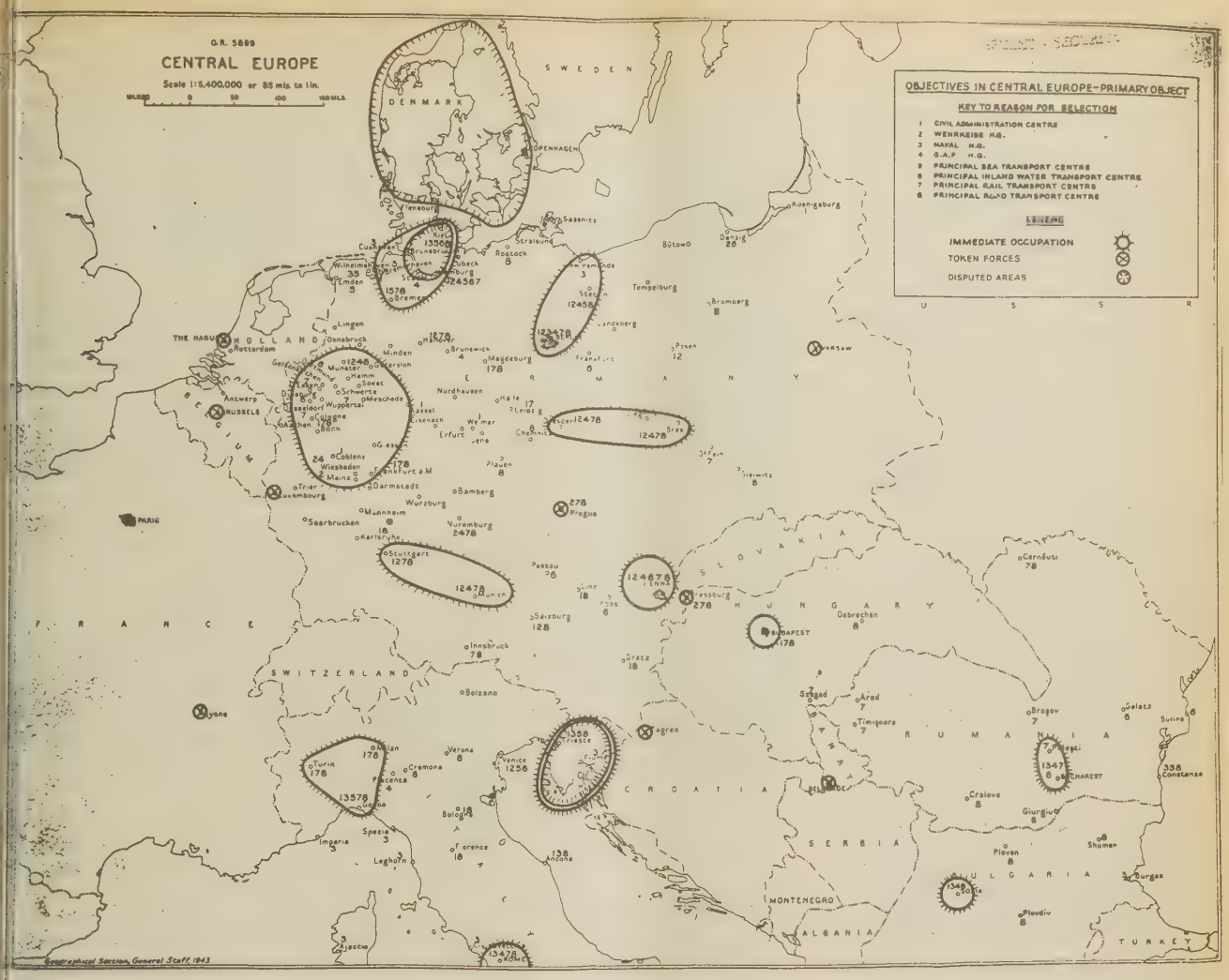
This prompts a closer look at the planning of the Warsaw uprising and the stance taken by Britain and the U.S.

Deep roots

I have long been mulling over a wartime strategic document often mentioned in connection with the preparation for the allied landing on the continent. This is "The Rankin" plan drawn up by the Anglo-American General Staff headed by Lieut. General Morgan and approved at the Churchill-Roosevelt meeting in Quebec in August 1943.

It was a bilateral and not a trilateral conference, intended as preparation for the future Teheran Conference. It was a curious meeting. The Soviet Union, a powerful ally engaged in a bloody battle on a front a thousand kilometres long,

Churchill and Roosevelt at the Quebec meeting where the Rankin Plan was adopted (August 1943).



Map attached to the November 8, 1943, version of the Rankin plan.

was referred to in various ways. The U.S. Office of Strategic Services memorandum dated August 20, 1943, proposed discussing the possibility of "joining forces with nazi Germany against Russia" and spoke of prospects for the formation of a German "Centrist-Socialist government" with which it would be possible to come to terms. Other cases considered were less invidious. For example, Churchill proposed invading the Balkans first to "preempt the Russians." The Quebec meeting finally decided in favour of opening a Second Front and staging Operation Overlord. But it also approved the Rankin plan, which envisaged a system of measures to be taken by the U.S. and Britain in three different cases:

Case A:

Such substantial weakening of the strength and morale of the German armed forces as will permit successful assault with the Anglo-American forces available prior to the target date for Overlord.

Case B:

German withdrawal from the occupied countries.

Case C:

German unconditional surrender and a cessation of organized resistance in North-West Europe.

In 30-odd pages the military documents available at the London archive consider the military measures (such as concentration of land, air and naval forces, transportation, etc.). The documents do not provide a full-scale political explanation as to when and why the above-mentioned "cases" would come about. Nothing but a short statement:

"Nor is it beyond the bounds of possibility that an imminent threat of complete disaster on the Russian front might induce him (Hitler – L.B.)abandon altogether his occupation of Western and probably Southern Europe, in order to concentrate all available forces against the Russian menace, postpone the hour of final defeat and ensure the ultimate occupation of Germany by Anglo-American, rather than by Russian forces." Introduction to Annex I to Final document (43) 41.

The message is clear enough. The passage disguises a far-reaching political plan flagrantly at odds with the spirit and letter of the agreements on cooperation between the Allies. These agreements were not concerned with rivalry ("who would get there first?"), or the interests of any one side, but with joint strikes, agreed operations undertaken in the common interest. This line was highlighted in Teheran. Its military equivalent in the East

was the powerful offensive on the Soviet fronts in the summer of 1944 and Operation Overlord in the West.

We now know that our allies had alternative plans. We did not know about them then (although we might have suspected their existence). The top political and military leaders in Britain and the U.S. thought it possible for the two operations – Overlord and Rankin – to be prepared simultaneously. The Rankin plan had a special proviso saying that it did not run counter to, but merely "complemented" the Overlord operation. Thus, the concentration of troops in Britain for a landing in Europe under one (the main) plan could be used to implement the other.

What were our allies going to do if they decided on the Rankin plan? Maps seem more convincing than figures. This is certainly true of the two maps of Northwest and Southeast Europe attached to one version of the plan dated November 8, 1943. In these maps we see not only the targets of the Rankin plan, but a certain order of priorities (not necessarily in terms of temporal sequence, but in the character of operations). Mentioned first (and marked "immediate occupation") were:

Northwest Germany: Bremen–Lubeck–Hamburg
Western Germany: Ruhr and Cologne
Central Germany: Berlin, Dresden
South Germany: Stuttgart–Munich area
Italy: areas Turin–Milan, Rome–Naples, Trieste
Southeastern Europe: Budapest, Bucharest, Sofia

These targets undoubtedly accorded with the overall idea of "Rankin." Some of them were mentioned in the master directive. The mention of Budapest, Bucharest and Sofia as objects of "immediate occupation" might come as a surprise. However, one should remember Churchill's famous idea of penetrating the "soft underbelly of Europe." The idea appears logical especially when one remembers that the Red Army was still far from Jassy or the Carpathians:

The second priority targets on the map were marked with the words "token forces":

Holland: The Hague
Belgium: Brussels
France: Lyons
Czechoslovakia: Prague
Poland: Warsaw
Yugoslavia: Belgrade, Zagreb

Finally, the third-priority areas to be considered were the whole of Denmark, the Kiel area in Germany, Salonika (Greece) and the Island of Rhodes in Southern Europe. A prodigious appetite!

The figures on the map indicate civil administration centres (1), Wehrkeise H.Q. (2), Naval H.Q (3), Air Force H.Q. (4), principal sea transport centres (5), principal inland water transport centres (6), principal rail transport centres (7), principal road transport centres (8).

I was naturally intrigued by the mention of Warsaw as a target of the Rankin operation. This throws new light on and lends a new dimension to the subject of the Warsaw uprising. But why "token forces"?

If you look at the cities slated as targets for "token forces," it would be logical to assume they were to be captured not by the Anglo-American forces, but by the Resistance forces involved in Operation Rankin. I was soon able to provide documentary proof of this hypothesis. When I studied the material on the possible use of the Allied Forces in the Warsaw uprising, they referred to the Polish paratroop brigade as a "token force." In other words, it was to be AK and British-led Polish units in Warsaw, Mihajlovic's četniks in Belgrade, SOE controlled units in Prague and similar units in Lyons.

The elements of the Rankin plan

What made the Anglo-American General Staff allow for the possibility of a sudden collapse of the Hitler Army ("collapse" was their favourite term).

When Churchill (and Roosevelt) read of possibiltiies of "preempting the Russians" they were not so out of touch with reality as to hope that the Hitler régime would collapse, thus automatically opening the door to Europe from the West. British Intelligence was well-informed about the internal state of the Reich and its elite. It was aware that Hitler and the nazi leaders were determined to fight to the end.

British Intelligence had strong contacts in Berlin and more and more evidence of this is becoming available. While formerly direct contacts between "C " (British Intelligence Chief Sir Stewart Menzies) with the head of the Abwehr (German Intelligence and Counter-Intelligence) Admiral Canaris were suspected, such links are now an established fact. A recent biography of Menzies says that these contacts date back to December 1940. It also says that the two "super spies" exchanged messages in June 1944. Menzies was fully informed of Hitler's plans and the activities of the conservative opposition to Hitler, of which Canaris was a member. On the other hand, Allen Dulles, OSS President in Europe, knew even more as he had informers among the conspirators.

The link between the conspiracy of July 20, 1944, and the Rankin plan is no longer a hypothesis, but a documented fact. The "Centrist-Socialist government" referred to in the OSS document of August 20, 1943, was about to seize power and, as Dulles reported to Washington,

> **"a similar arrangement might be worked out for the reception of Allied airborne forces at strategic points in Germany."**

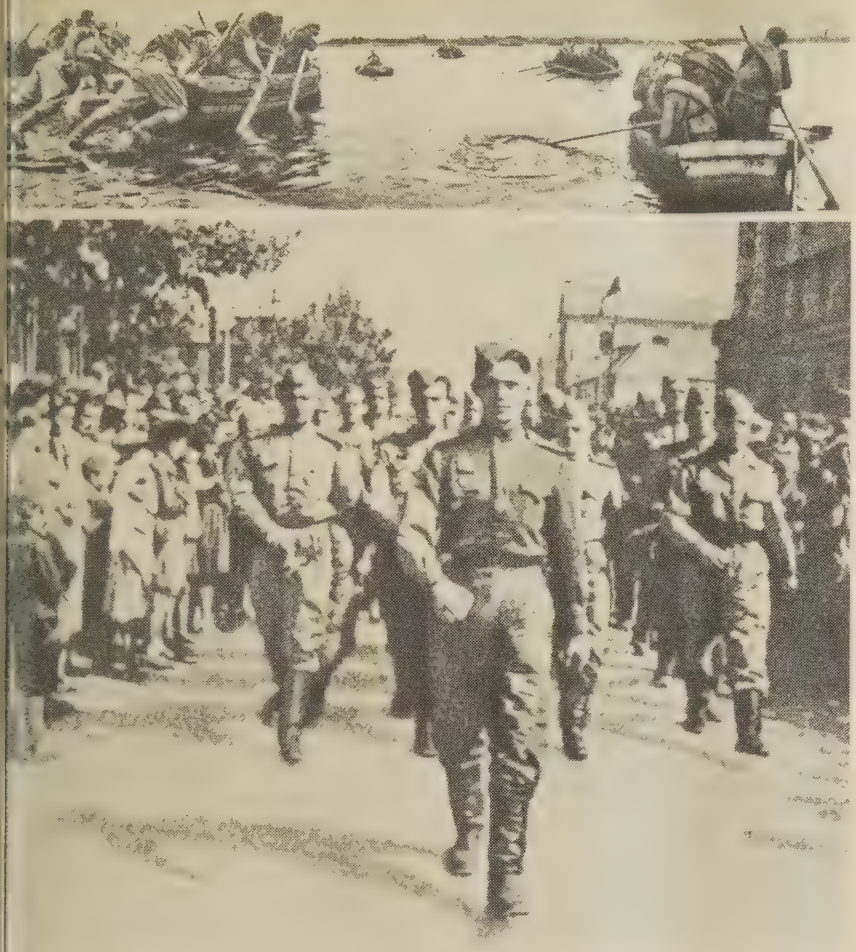
The July 20 conspiracy was a component of the Rankin plan. But it was not the only component. While Dulles and his supporters in Washington relied on the conspirators, Winston Churchill was less enamoured of them. He had other plans. The British Prime Minister had long nurtured the idea of creating "shadow armies" in some nazi-occupied European countries. The British historian Anthony Brown explains:

"This shadow army would leap to arms at the moment of the 'Return to Europe' and 'set Europe ablaze,' thus 'confusing and confounding' the Germans... It was for this purpose that he, (Churchill – L.B.) formed the Special Operations Executive (SOE) in 1940."

Indeed, the SOE was to control Resistance movements, a task it went about vigorously in France, Greece, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and not least in Poland.

What was to be the role of the "shadow army" in Poland?

Its leaders had very definite ideas on that score which they put to their English principals on more than one occasion. For example, General Sosnkowski sent a memorandum to General Gubbins in January 1944, setting out in great detail how he saw the actions of the AK – and the armed uprising specifically – within the overall strategy of the Western allies. This was also the aim of another Polish memorandum addressed to the U.S. and British Chiefs of Staff. Entitled **"The Armed Forces and Secret Military Organization of Poland as a Factor in General Allied European Planning,"** the memorandum opened with an assessment of the Polish forces in Britain, the Mediterranean and Poland (AK). What could the AK do? Answer:



n the summer of 1944, Soviet troops launched an unprecedented offensive and started liberating Poland alongside the First Polish Army. On July 23, the Germans were knocked out of Lublin.

Photos: assault-crossing the Vistula south of Warsaw. The liberators marching into Lublin.

"Strategically, Poland is situated along almost the full stretch of the direct rears of the German-Soviet front. In the event of an opening of an operational theatre in the Balkans, Poland would again be placed directly behind the area of Axis military operations. An offensive in the South-West or the North-West of Europe would determine the strategic position of Poland to be in the immediate rear of Germany proper, intercepting almost completely communications between the Eastern and Western walls of defence of the Reich. The mobilization of a considerable army on the territory of Poland, under these circumstances, may be compared to a gigantic airborne commando operation on the rear of the enemy and in the immediate vicinity of his vital system and arterial routes."

And here is a still more definite statement:

"The Secret Army of Poland (AK) may become a powerful weapon for the allies in East-Central Europe."

These suggestions were taken into account, as witnessed by documents.

On January 11, 1944, Churchill sent an inquiry to his chiefs of staff asking what forces were ready to carry out the Rankin Operation in February or March if events took a sudden turn in the Allies' favour.

The reply came: in case A, 11 British and 11 American divisions would be ready by February 1, and 15 and 13 respectively by March 1. Then followed data for cases B and C. The military, however, hinted that the time for landing was unfavourable and could be carried out only if the Germans left Northern France completely. They said that a landing in Northwest Germany, Denmark or Norway was more realistic.

Following on the heels of Churchill's request, a directive was sent to the SOE (where else?)

"to prepare plans of an intensified sabotage campaign accompanied by the maximum guerrillan activity to be timed to take place in support of Overlord and Rankin."

The importance of this document in understanding the significance of the Warsaw uprising is beyond doubt. It brings together scattered facts into an effective whole: **the idea of using the AK to suppport Western allies was included in the Anglo-American strategy.**

It is clear that Rankin and plans for the Warsaw uprising have the same underlying military-political thinking. Just as the former plan was inspired by the idea of a sudden collapse of Germany, so the Polish generals hoped for a sudden collapse of the German military machine. In a memorandum to the British Command dated July 29, 1944, General Kukie wrote that "the success of the proposed operations might speed the complete defeat of the Germans." General Bor, for his part, asked London:

"Do you estimate that the military operations in the West may bring the end of the war in a few days?"

It is no less significant that General Bor linked his plans with the July 20 conspiracy. On July 21, right after the attempt to assassinate Hitler, Bor sent message No. 406 /1/ XXX/799, which read in part:

"The recent attempt on Hitler's life, together with the military position of Germany, may lead at any moment to their collapse."

General Pelczynski, Bor's deputy:

"We were greatly affected by this event, which showed that the conspiracy against Hitler embraced the highest circles of the Reich's armed forces..."

General Bor (after the war):

"In these circumstances the possibility of the collapse of the Germans at the front and in their own country had to be taken into account."

Thus, a profound link emerged between the decision on the Warsaw uprising and the whole range of the U.S. and Britain's strategic plans at a crucial stage in the war.

(To be continued)

Putting a cat near a goldfish bowl

The ecological situation in the U.S.S.R. and prospects for its development is the subject of our interview with Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences **ALEXEI YABLOKOV.**

It would seem that we can now heave a sigh of relief: the fate of the northern rivers has been decided by the highest authorities. Public opinion has won out over the departmental interests of those who planned "the project of the century." But isn't it still too early to say that the problem has finally been resolved? Both sides have accumulated considerable experience, and the main conclusion that the officials have drawn is that there should be less glasnost so as not to excite concern about possible consequences of changes in the environment.

New Times. The very word "ecology," which is appearing in the press increasingly often, sounds as an alarm signal for some people. Moreover, the notion of "environmental protection" has gained currency in politics. What is the effect of conservation problems on international politics?

Alexei Yablokov. Not so long ago environmental protection was viewed as an obsession on the part of eccentrics who went about raising the alarm over butterflies and flowers. There has been such a drastic change in the situation over the past ten or fifteen years that not a single decision in domestic or foreign policy of any importance can now be taken without considering ecological factors. It can be said that the new political thinking is manifested above all in an environmentalist approach to politics, concern for the preservation of the globe's biosphere as such. Everyone admits that nuclear winter will set in if just one twentieth of the existing nuclear arsenal is used. Therefore a war using nuclear weapons is unthinkable for ecological reasons alone. All countries are connected, and national boundaries do not afford protection from global ecological danger. Two years ago even Arabs and Israelis got down to negotiating at an international conference on the protection of the Mediterranean and managed to reach agreement. And then an accord has recently been concluded to limit the discharge of freons into the atmosphere, to avoid the destruction of the ozone layer screening the Earth from ultra-violet radiation. Or take the "Club of 30," which includes the overwhelming majority of European countries. Its members have assumed the commitment to reduce discharges containing sulphur and nitrogen by 30 per cent in order to protect themselves, if only to some extent, from acid rain. The idea of a world environmentalist government is not so absurd after all: life itself now demands that ecological concerns be placed above ideology.

N.T. But isn't it enough to mend our ways and concentrate on environmental protection in our own country?

A.Y. Striving to meet the growing needs of the national economy in metal, coal and oil, we have lost sight of the increasing danger to the environment posed by industrial development. The Western countries and Japan have already woken up to this danger and come to see the need for decisive measures for the protection of the air and water from pollution.

Departmental ambitions and an ignorance of ecological matters bordering on immorality are the main reasons for the present state of the environment in our country, and, consequently, the quality of life of its people.

NT. The problems of environmental protection have been with us for quite some time. But it is still unusual for the press to say how acute these problems are in some parts of our country. What do you think of this?

A.Y. I think the time for ecological education is already past. There is no time now to educate adults who hold responsible posts. Last year, of the instructions from the General Meeting of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, I compiled a report on the ecological situation in the country for the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, but I have not yet been given an opportunity to deliver it.

I could cite dozens of examples of "ecological adventurism." As is well known, the Azov Sea was the world's richest in stocks of fish. As a result of acute contamination with pesticides and

Drawing by Victor Bogorod

e decreased discharge of fresh water to the sea over the past 15 years, atches of fish from the Azov Sea have opped to four per cent of what they sed to be. This is a result of the ecologi- ally injustifiable decision to grow rice in e Kuban River area. It has been calcu- ted that rice growing on the reaches of e Kuban has brought 1,100 million ru- es in profits, but that 2,000 million ru- es have been lost as a result of the fall f in catches of fish.

N.T. Couldn't this have been foreseen years ago?

A.Y. No one foresaw such acute con- mination, with the concentration of esticides in the lagoons of the Kuban ceeding the limits many times over. erious doubts have been expressed out the development of semi-desert nds and the construction of huge reser- irs. The trouble is that we project pro- s from construction over a 15-20 years' eriod, whereas it is necessary to esti- te losses over a period of at least 60 ars ahead. Three generations emerge 60 years. I feel responsible to my andson for the state in which land will e inherited from us.

As many as 22,000 people were busy rking in the Ministry of Land Improve- nt and Water Conservation on the pro- t to change the course of the Northern d Siberian rivers. Some of them ad- essed a letter to the Central Committee the Party after the project had been ncelled. They wrote that there is a ortage of water in the South of the untry. And this was not in vain, it must e admitted. A decision adopted recently ys that there is a need to continue to rvey the problem of changing the urse of the rivers. But the impression at there is a shortage of water has been eated artificially! It rests on inflated rms for the consumption of water in in- stry and other areas of the economy much less water per unit of production is nsumed in advanced countries), and lso on cunning departmental calcula- ons. The notion that there is a shortage f water is to the advantage of the Minis- y of Land Improvement and Water Con- ervation as it enables the ministry to get ndorsement for large-scale operations. ncidentally, until recently the land im- rovement schemes were judged not by e harvest but by the volume of water oured on the fields.

The construction of the Volga-Chograi anal continues. This project is ecologi- ally hazardous and is of economic ad- antages only to the Ministry of Land Im- rovement and Water Conservation. The inistry is in no hurry to reverse the con- equences of its grave ecological crime – e virtual destruction of the Aral Sea...

N.T. Now that environmental protec- on in our country has been proclaimed a government concern, and a special committee has been set up, a barrier should be created to acting on the basis of departmental interests.

A.Y. The setting up of the State Committee of the U.S.S.R. for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control is certainly a major step forward. But, deplorably, the committee has no right to veto ecologically harmful undertakings by departments. It is shackled by the same departmental concerns from the outset: the long-term government programme for environmental protection up to the year 2005 which is now being drafted (and which has been proclaimed to be the programme on which the Committee will act) is based on proposals put forward by the ministries that utilize natural resources, and not on scientifically substantiated standards for the management of the environment. It's like putting a cat near a goldfish bowl.

N.T. And how is this problem being coped with in industrialized capitalist countries?

A.Y. Japan seems to be the first country to have dealt effectively with the ecological crisis. It has allocated an unprecedented share of the national income – 6-7 per cent for environmental protection. The U.S.S.R. at present spends something like 0.5 per cent of the national income for the purpose. What have the Japanese done? They have levied heavy taxes on industrial enterprises for environmental pollution and it has soon been realized that it is unprofitable to build purification facilities, as they cost 30 per cent of the cost of an enterprise. So the Japanese started to use new waste-free or low-waste technologies. This transition apparently took a toll on finance, but proved profitable in the long run, as a wide range of new opportunities opened up. The problem of the utilization of industrial waste has been disposed of. The air in the cities has become much cleaner. The air in Tokyo is now cleaner than in Moscow. It should be recalled that the Great Lakes in the U.S. had become contaminated and that the Thames was one of the most polluted rivers in the world. But now salmon have appeared in the Thames, which attests to quite a good quality of water. And the United States and Canada have now started negotiations over quotas for salmon and eel catches in some of the Great Lakes. And what about Lake Baikal? The construction of the Baikal-Amur Railway has necessitated the development of the coastal area and there is already a project for the construction of a new city, Severobaikalsk, with a population of 40,000, the project having been drawn up by Leningrad architects. The construction of this city on the shores of Lake Baikal will be much more hazardous for the environment than the notorious pulp-and-paper project. And what about the plans for the construction of a shipyard in Ulan-Ude, and other schemes to develop machine building near Lake Baikal?

I would like to ask those on whose initiative and under whose supervision such projects are being planned in whose interests they are acting? In whose interests do they mislead us with forecasts of ecological safety? I visited Kemerovo recently. A very alarming situation exists there. Up to 75 per cent of the industrial enterprises in the city stand idle on windless days so that people can breathe. And people have started to leave the city quietly. If things go on like this, there will be no housing problem in the Kemerovo region in five or ten years... The question arises: what is the purpose of our lives? Do we live so that a factory can fulfil and overfulfil its plans?

Let us consider where the metal goes. Eighty per cent of it goes to the very industries that produce it. New and larger excavators, new and more powerful equipment for pits is built... This is not merely unwise. It is just plain suicide. We have no need for all this metal, coal and energy that we produce and squander, to lulling talk about the necessity for the transition from extensive to intensive development. I do not want to sound alarmist, but region after region in our country is reaching an ecologically critical state, and society should be informed of this. Take the Black Sea basin. What has happened with it? The flow of fresh water has decreased dramatically in recent years and water from the Dardanelles has rushed in and activated the lifeless hydrogen sulphide layer. In some areas hydrogen sulphide is at a depth of 15 metres from the surface, and if this tendency continues, the hydrogen sulphide layer could reach the surface and kill every living thing.

There is an alarming situation in the North of the Caspian Sea, on Lake Balkhash, along the River Ob and in many other areas...

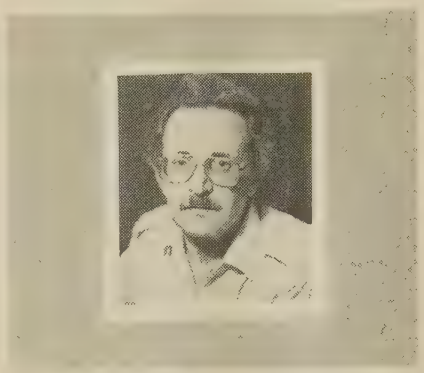
There is an experiment: a frog is placed in a pot of water which is slowly heated, and the frog is baked without noticing it. At first the frog feels a pleasant warmth, but when the water gets too hot, it is unable to jump out. If the frog is placed directly in hot water, it will instantly jump out, even with scalded skin. I think humanity can now be compared to that hapless frog.

N.T. What course should be taken to reduce the undesirable concomitants of the development of technological civilization as much as possible?

A.Y. The course of developing technologies for environmental protection to the utmost, the course of waste-free or low-waste production, the development of a new morality (what is harmful to the environment is amoral), the pooling of the efforts of all countries. And all this is possible only if the environmentalist movement is dramatically stepped up. If we do not do this, who will? When is it to be done if not now?

Interviewer Olga Papkova

Junior world



Vehicles of violence

"...I pray that I am in good health, I pray for us all that God grant us long life in excellent good health... Save us from all disasters, human or natural, and from all accidents, and spare us from violence, whether organized and official or spontaneous, and haphazard," a character of Edgar Doctorow's story "Lives of Poets" recently translated here prays.

We might well join in this prayer: the crime columns that have come to appear regularly in our papers cannot but give us reason for concern. The worst thing is that most of those involved in violent crimes are young...

When violence is used to attain evil ends, when it is frankly criminal, it is unpardonable but has some crooked logic behind it. Criminal ends are served by criminal means.

It is harder to find the roots of "spontaneous" or blind violence. The brutality rampant among young people the world over is surely not to be explained, in all seriousness, by the effect of the cinema alone, or by the fact that certain bad parents encourage their kids to hit back if attacked by a kindergarten mate.

The sources of criminal violence lie in the day-to-day violence which has come to be taken for granted. Unjustified malicious violence stems from the vindicated violence perpetrated without a scruple. A barely perceptible crack in our common conscience may let in a world of evil.

Boris Pasternak expressed this idea with amazing succinctness in his "Doctor Zhivago." As one character puts it, pragmatic cruelty was evolved – in the name of mercy.

We have no moral right to censure those people, let alone condemn them All of them suffered from that wholesale, pragmatic cruelty which, to them seemed justified. Their psyches came under the superhuman strain of a responsibility that no one could bear – some perished, others were dehumanized. The economic dislocation of those years has been described often enough, but we shall never fully appreciate the horror of a moral earthquake that was deadlier than famine, cold and enemy bullets. What happened to morality then? The answer has not yet dawned on all of us: one by one people are waking up to it with a start. Now and then we come across newspaper articles saying that no end can justify evil means. This age-old truth comes as a revelation to many. To date, however, few people have been able to get an ecologically dangerous plant closed down if it is important to industry. Neither in schools, nor in everyday life have we been taught the first law of morality, which demands that one sacrifice even the finest goals if attaining them involves the use of means that would prove ruinous to anyone. It will be some time before we finally understand that objectives can be sacrificed. We have been raised to the strains of the March of the Enthusiasts, which went: "No obstacle will stop us on the sea or on the land..." Another maxim inculcated in us was "There are no fortresses impregnable to Bolsheviks." What kind of morality can survive alongside this philosophy of murderous all-conquering omnipotence?

Talk about means and ends sounds especially empty to us when it comes to raising children. Almost all of us are certain that violence and coercion are absolutely indispensable in bringing up children, in the children's own interests. This notion goes back to times immemorial and has been formalized in a multitude of hoary legal acts. Western civilization can, therefore, be referred to as a civilization of legalized violence to children, maltreating them. However, cruelty always kills kindness and, along with it, other basic human feelings in children such as compassion, charity and magnanimity. Episodes of violence erupt in almost every family every day, and it is hard to understand why, in spite of it, the world is still not without kind-hearted people. A tot is roughed up in a courtyard, and his parents complain to the bully's father. He gives his son a good hiding, repeating: "I'll teach you not to hurt little boys." What does he actually teach his son: how not to hurt little boys, or how to hurt them?

Isn't this a good illustration of how we bring up our children?

We are irked by rock music, but what about the "heavy metal" admonitions most children hear in their families from morning till night: "Stop it, do you hear?" "Come here!" "Come and eat!" "Go to bed!" to the monotonous accompaniment of expressions invariably starting with the threatening "or else": "or else you won't go to the cinema tonight," "or else I'll call a cop," "or else I'll show you."

A child is showered with threats that persistently inculcate in him the conviction that he can achieve his ends by violent means alone. The family becomes a school of violence, we make our world coarse, with all the ensuing consequences.

Ideally, child raising ought to satisfy two requirements, at least:

a) it must be non-violent

b) it should produce a person capable of opposing violence, including the violence of conformism.

I am sure, alas, that nine readers out of ten will say these two objective are incompatible because we ourselves cannot conceive of an upbringing devoid of coercion, and because we are ourselves carriers of the infection called violence. This applies not only to those who neglect their parental duties and do not bring up their children, but also to loving mums and dads who take good care of them and mean well. Like the Biblical "unrighteous" we think that our strength should be the the law of the truth, for weakness cannot avail. The wives of such men are described in the same book as dull-witted, and their children as wicked.

But what kind of strength can oppose violence in child upbringing?

Simon Soloveichik

The Kazan Phenomenon

Ksenia Myalo

The gang warfare in the streets of Kazan is constantly in the news. What is behind it? Is it a development of organized crime? Is it due to the poor organization of leisure facilities? Or could it be a social phenomenon that is far from being purely regional?

This phenomenon, which can be termed gang warfare and which is now causing increasing concern to the public, splashed into the news for the first time in the spring of 1987, when the clash between teenagers, the so-called "Lyubers" (from a town Lyubertsy just outside Moscow), and young Muscovites from various informal associations who had rallied together behind the slogans of "Kill the Lyuber!", "Let's show that we are stronger than they are!" and "Let's hold Moscow!" almost ended in carnage.

The "Battle of Lake Chudskoe" – a reference to the battle there in 1242 when the Russian Prince Alexander Nevsky routed the Teutonic Knights – was averted on this occasion thanks to the law enforcement agencies. However, the problem has not gone away. It is explosive and there is still no solution – which is demonstrated not least by the variety of assessments and explanations offered by media over a very short period and which have gone to such extremes as to represent it, on the one hand, as a demonic nightmare and, on the other, as a figment of the imagination.

Some articles have represented the "Lyubers" as a well organized, rather secretive and mysterious cohort of fighters against the "pernicious influences of the West" and democratic pluralism. No wonder the London Times, a newspaper far removed from the realities of Soviet life, exaggerated the "demonic" aspect to almost mythical dimensions which, in an unexpected paradox, transformed the anti-Western "Lyubers" into a branch of a mysterious Masonic lodge.

The gang warfare in the Moscow streets is causing increasing alarm to the Soviets, says the newspaper. This warfare, Times is going on, has risen to new levels of cruelty and is characterized by ideological insinuations as to the future of Gorbachev's liberalization programmes. The formidable and well-organized "Lyuber" commandos are seen as a serious threat to the Gorbachev reforms, a threat highlighted by demands to tighten up cultural restrictions and repress dissidents. The young cutthroats are united in a firmly welded organization of a Masonic type, Times tries to convince its readers.

At the other extreme are articles claiming that the problem is nonexistent, artificially inflated, and provoked chiefly by the defective organization of leisure facilities. However, neither have questioned the correctness of the main line of demarcation between the two camps, which the news media seem to have drawn. On one side, are youngsters with long or dyed hair wearing ultra-modern Western garments and idolizing rock. On the other, are body-building proles in padded jackets, preferring the good old accordeon to foreign pop.

The world of rumour has energetically assimilated this thesis. That there have been and still are grounds for making such claims cannot be contested – especially where, unlike Moscow and Leningrad, ultra-modern youth fashions are less widespread, not because of any purist zeal on the part of local teenagers, but simply because fashionable Western clothing is far less readily available.

However, we should not have overlooked deeper hidden forces, the more so as events themselves soon furnished plentiful proof of the untenability of this simple piece of wishful thinking. Today we read of people

being beaten up and even killed in the streets of cities and towns in the Urals, Siberia and on the Volga in fights whose protagonists are not ascetic supporters of outdated ideologies versus fledglings of the perestroika spring. In the provinces "pro-Western" teenagers who possess fashionable clothing and with it LPs are not infrequently pupils of what are known as special schools (where greater emphasis is placed on instruction in a foreign language or a specific discipline such as physics and mathematics). As a rule pupils at these schools are left alone, a point, incidentally, that provides food for thought. More often than not it is ordinary average city boys living in five-storey walk-ups with identical crew cuts, windcheaters and, depending on the season, knitted caps or fur hats, who clash in bitter engagements. Because of their clothing and their hairdos, they all look terribly alike at twilight or dawn, when these clashes take place. The notorious "proletarian" padded jackets have receded into oblivion with Adidas-type track suits having long since replaced them. Then, if most "gopniks," as they are now termed, – or "muggers," which is as good a translation as any – still wear felt "proshchaikis" (a Russian abbreviation for "proshchai molodost" which means "good-bye to youth") on their feet, they do so for purely functional, rather than ideological reasons, as this type of footwear is seen as extremely convenient for running on slippery winter streets.

This running around, along with the fights that take no longer than three minutes at most, have already distinctly manifested themselves as the consistent specific tactic that gives gang warfare its symptoms of illusory spontaneity, and the fleeting nature of those ordinary fights between boys, even though they seem more frequent now and excessively cruel. Are these really simply a bunch of "rascals" as the magazine Ogonyok suggested in an article on the Kazan phenomenon?

The Kazan phenomenon – from spring on there have been flare-ups of particularly cruel fighting involving several killings – is now the talk of the town. However, I feel I must agree with Savelii Tesis, deputy chief of the criminal investigation department at the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Tartar Autonomous Republic, that what has been qualified as the uniqueness of the Kazan development is as tentative as the uniqueness of the Uzbek affair. In other words, we are faced rather with an extreme manifestation of a more common development which is of more ordinary significance and a deeper going social pathology than might appear at a cursory glance, or be explained away in terms of specific "Uzbek" or "Kazan" characteristics.

The significance of such extremes is, however, that they enable us even today to record the specific features and inner symptoms that oblige us to analyze in complete earnest the question, for instance, of likely contacts between these gangs and organized crime, as well as the problem of their leaders and, finally, in the context of what occurred in Alma-Ata and Sumgait, the prospects of the likely exploitation of what appears at first to be nothing but a spontaneous outburst of a spate of violence in city streets.

In the first place one is obliged to note that in itself the degree of cruelty to be observed in Kazan makes the fights there different from traditional fights between boys. This, incidentally, is pointed out not by representatives of adult and official Kazan, but by young people, who themselves were not averse in the past to being involved in spontaneous eruptions of teenage brutality.

Yet...

"Before, when we were younger, there were fights between street gangs, but now firearms are used and there are knifings. At times is is simply terrible, with people being knifed in their own homes... Today everything seems brutal, whether in revenge for someone being sent to prison, revenge that is wreaked against his gang, and sometimes ends in murder. Previously, it was something out of the ordinary to find yourself in hospital after a fight, but today it is only killing that is out of the ordinary. Today you're beaten up even when you're down and you can be beaten so badly that it could result in death... You could even be brained with a shovel or a pitchfork...."

"One boy told me that he had been stabbed in the throat three times, but the knife had kept folding up against his throat, so he was stabbed in the stomach and had to be taken to hospital. There are many teenagers with fractured skulls in hospitals nowadays, and that terrorizes the entire city...."

"There's a sort of round-the-clock centre at the compressor plant and the guys that come there, about fifteen or so, are always armed with bricks, bars and rods, and they beat up anyone who isn't in their gang... Sometimes even children are very badly hurt... The whole of Kazan is full of that."

Hospital records, to the extent to which they note the injuries received in gang fights, confirm this picture. On the other hand, the record of such events points to another feature of this violence, which is by no means typical of traditional fights between kids, who usually kept to the rule that "seven do not hit one." Today the entire group can beat up a single victim and even kill him with a brutality that is quite undisguised.

Even more significant is the consensus that spontaneous fights are now very rare indeed and do not set the tone at all in Kazan. The fights that strike panic into the hearts of the townspeople and are commented upon in the press are overwhelmingly organized, "deliberate" fights when the place and time are selected in advance and agreed upon by the gang leaders, romantically described in some books and articles as "strong in spirit and body."

"Want to know how these fights happen? Well, for instance, there or four packed buses, that have been hired, arrive, and the people inside jump out to fight with others who have been waiting for them. Which means that these fights have been agreed on. The militia arrives and everyone runs away, with only those who haven't managed to get away or who are left lying on the ground being copped. The fight disperses before the militia arrives. The fight itself might last, say, two and a half to three minutes, but the preparations for it are longer. The fighters, as a rule, are armed, they don't fight with their bare hands. They use steel bars or rods or knuckle-dusters. Each group has its own favourite weapons, all of

Burying the victims of gang wars

ich are stored at some collection point, ause as a rule they don't carry them with

is said that there now exists the racteristic figure of the "arms bearer," keeps up with a gang that has set off action" along the other side of the eet. The arms bearer carries a bag with weapons in it and, when alarmed, s off taking with him any evidence that ld point to the gang's intentions.

his level of organization, plus the now so rare occasions when recent rivals denly call off their animosity and unite inst a third, apparently more danger-, common enemy, gives food for ught, creating the impression of a nipulated operation. In other words, gang, which to a large extent has the ic characteristics of an ordinary gang oys, is now involved with structures interests of a different kind.

think that one of Kazan special voca-al school instructors, who was kind ugh to let me read his notes, is largely t when he says: "During the period of gnation there emerged illicit property tionships outside the pale of the so- control, which have generated many social phenomena, including our gs. The relationships between their bers are by no means disinterested. y rest on solid material foundations of tory, fist and ruble. What welds the g together, comprising the material is for its existence, is ruthless physi- and psychological pressure against on-members, along with the collect- of "tribute."

here is no doubt that the "ruble" is of portance in principle here. I for one uld not easily dismiss it as merely a nifestation of perennial persecution nia. After all, the boys themselves, ther gang members or outsiders, e much to say about these forced netary contribution. The militia too e confirmed this in relation to at least ens of gangs.

They collect money at times even from -formers at school. They give the im- ssion of collecting it for a good cause as a rule, the money is spent on drink the older boys and on hardly anything ."

Is it difficult to refuse to cough up?"

Well, you can be done over. They take n 3 to 5 rubles, and from 20 to 30 eks from the smaller kids, whom they g along to fights. They tell them to come e, twice or a third time, and if the kid re- s, they may do something to him."

The entire system enables the gang lead- o line their own pockets very nicely as ax is of the order of 50 rubles a month n just one chap alone."

s a rule the excuse used to exact ney from the members of the gangs siders are fleeced without any excuse ll) is that of helping someone who has landed "in the zone" (i.e., the prison camp zone) or hospital, or his family. Lately another excuse that has been trotted out is that of arranging the funerals of those killed in the fights, with money collected used to buy wreaths or put up a tombstone. However, how this money is actually spent is disputed. Some really believe the money is spent on what it was collected for, but others assert categorically that a fair amount is pocketed by the leaders, or the "authorities" backing them. There is good reason to think so, as the dolce vita of the leaders and the cars they drive are visible for all to see. The only problem is whether this is where the money really goes, or whether it reaches another higher level. On the other hand, nobody denies that money is exacted and that so-called outsiders are fleeced. According to some tentative estimates, the sums raised thereby are large enough for us to be giving thought even today to where the money goes, the more so as, again, few deny that this money goes further up the ladder.

Hence, when considering likely back rooms, the gang leaders represent the key, not so much simply because the money collected flows into their hands and is possibly then passed further along the line, but also for another reason. There are considerable grounds to assume that while the "cannon fodder," the rank-and-file in the gangs beat each other up in the streetfights, some of the leaders are in fact good friends, to the point of drinking together.

Under their guidance a teen-age gang, which has not yet defined its relationships with the adult world, is channelled, by virtue of being, as it were, outside the pale of society, towards control by an anti-social "centre" that, on the contrary, has fully defined these relationships for itself. It views society simply as a source of continually and unreservedly exacted tribute, as a field for a unviersal racket.

The racket was the basic, though not the only aspect, of the operations of the Tyap Lyap gang, which has been mentioned in the Soviet media and with whom the initial activities of the Kazan gangs as a qualitatively new form of self-organization amongst urban teenagers were linked.

The story is told that to assert their control over a certain territory the members of this gang first vigorously applied blitzkrieg tactics – quick short raids on enemy groups of teenagers indistinguishable from themselves.

Nevertheless, that is only one side of the coin, inasmuch as since they are merely the offspring and auxiliaries of the racketeers, these gangs should inevitably have disintegrated the moment the Tyap Lyap gang was crushed and eliminated. But this did not happen, although between the trial and the release of some members of the gang there was a hazy period when the factions did not completely disappear but, nevertheless kept a far lower profile than now.

Rumours current among teenagers coupled with certain factual evidence warrant the assumption that there was a moment when the gang members, or at least some of them, gravitated towards spontaneous anti-Mafia activity. The legend also gives plenty of space to their presumed clashes with suddenly emerging groups of "nazis."

To some extent the self-determination of the different groups during that period also developed from the karate clubs so widespread at the time. Whatever the case, they continually rode the crest of the wave of social instability, ending up, either as friends or enemies, with virtually all non-traditional forms of youth social behaviour, thus indicating the new processes unfolding within the depths of society.

The basic difficulty encountered in analyzing the Kazan gangs and the picture they present today is just this confusion as to their origins, which does not allow us to identify it exclusively either with any specific criminal gang or with the traditional street gang or with unofficial associations per se.

Inasmuch as it embraces all three, this category, as I see it, implies something more: it is a **specific microsociety** that has emerged at the crossroads of certain socio-pathological processes that have been at work over the past twenty years. This will be the subject of a subsequent article. ■

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Please enter my subscription to the English edition of NEW TIMES for 1 year (2, 3 years). Enclosed you will find...in cash (cheque, postal order)

Name.....
Address.....
Date .....
Signature.....

Subscriptions may be placed with all bookshops and firms handling Soviet publications as agents for Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga.

"It's a pity that people who have made a legend of me can't accept the fact that I'm actually not much of a superman," **Muhammad Ali,** 46, the ex-world boxing champion, now for many years a victim of Parkinson's disease, said in a recent interview. With his erratic and slurred speech and twitching facial muscles, he is no longer the Ali once worshipped by millions. Although he used to punish his opponents severely before finally knocking them out, he couldn't parry all their punches. And in professional boxing every punch tells sooner or later...

Cassius Clay, the black boy who renamed himself Muhammad Ali, protested against the Vietnam war and, at President Carter's request, campaigned for the African states to stay away from the Moscow Olympics; he was the pride of American blacks, especially when he beat white athletes aspiring for top honours.

The illness has retreated over the past few months, and although Ali declines to discuss the details of his course of treatment, he is ready with answers to other questions. The former boxing king now feels quite at home on the political scene and makes a point of attending press conferences given by his influential friends, who include Jesse Jackson. Moreover, he considers it necessary to organize a nationwide movement to protect children from violence.

The ex-champion's hobbies include reading, riding and socializing with respectable Michigan and Pennsylvania families.

At 42, actress **Liza Minnelli** is full of optimism, although her last bright spot,"Arthur 2 on the Rocks," was made in 1981. Before that, she had had two box-office successes, "The Sterile Cuckoo" and "Cabaret" in which she distinguished herself as a jazz vocalist.

Despite the failure of some other films in which she has starred, such as "Rent-a-Cop" (costarring Burt Reynolds), she says she is now having a wonderful time. Liza has had an eventful life. Daughter of the famous jazz singer and actress Judy Garland and the film director Vincente Minnelli, she wanted to be an ice skater of Olympic calibre. But just before she was 13, she saw "Bye Bye Birdie" and changed her mind. She left the Sorbonne, moved to New York and got a role in an off-Broadway play. Her career advanced by

stages; in the meantime, she took to drugs and alcohol. The habit landed her in a clinic in 1984.

Liza Minnelli has been married for eight years, her husband is sculptor Mark Gero. "We still hope to have a child," she says, "but I've left that in God's hands, and whatever happens is fine."

Minnelli is now going on tour with Frank Sinatra and Sammy Davis Jnr., and she has just signed a new record contract. The album will feature songs written for her by Billy Joel an Elton John.

Asked whether she planne to write her memoirs, Liza Mir nelli said: "I guess I just fe that people should write book at the end of their lif And I certainly don't feel lik this is the end of my life."

"In journalism and in r search, the secret of succes lies in giving exact wording an idea that has already take shape in people's minds says Andrei Nuikin, 57, a writ on social and political affair commenting on readers' e thusiastic reaction to h newspaper and magazine ar cles.

"My first contribution Komsomolskaya Pravda 1957 was a cry from the hea of a young man who had con to believe in the cause initiat by the 20th Congress. When Moscow in transit, I called

Helping readers over the language barri

Antonina Bouis is an American translator of Russian and Soviet literature. She has introduced American readers to work by Yevtushenko, Voznesensky, Baklanov, Granin, Rasputin, the brothers Strugatsky, Okudzhava... She was an editor of the English edition of the Greater Soviet Encyclopaedia for four years.

"I am of Russian descent, and owe most of my education to Pushkin and Lermontov, Gaidar, Chukovsky and Russian folk tales," she says.

Antonina Bouis graduated from the United States' only Russian-American St. Sergius High School, followed by Barnard College and the Columbia University's postgraduate course.

In an interview she said she translates books by Soviet authors to show

Americans what the Russians are really like. Literature alone cannot do away with antagonism, however, so she does not confine herself to translation. Antonina Bouis is co-chairman of the Soviet-American Cultural Initiative foundation set up by the Soviet Cultural Foundation, the Soviet Peace Foundation and the Soros Foundation – Soviet Union.

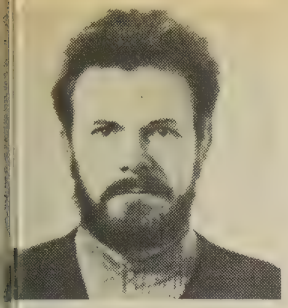
"I hope to be of use to the foundation," she says, "cause I build a bridge tween two cultures – Am can and Soviet."

Antonina's husband is journalist of French ext tion. They speak English home, but their son Ale der, 10, speaks fluent R sian which he learned f his mother and, more ticularly, from his gra mother Antonina Voro (Korzinkina).

"I spend my leisure reading a lot, translat meeting Russians who liv America and Americans terested in Russia.

"I have no hobby serio worth talking about. I among the lucky few wh for a living what they w do at leisure anyway."

V. Tara



paper's editorial office and ely asked for a job – and to own surprise, was taken on correspondent rightaway.

Novosibirsk University duate, Andrei Nuikin has ked as a Russian language literature teacher and ved in the army.

ter six years as a staff wri- on Komsomolskaya da, Andrei Nuikin did a graduate course at the demy of Social Sciences then went back to jour- m as a Pravda writer on ndary and higher educa-

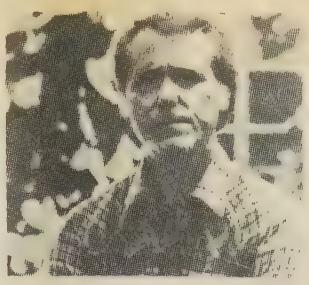
nce last April, Andrei in has held the post of science manager at the Institute of Cinematic Art.

"This is a new sphere for me, although I've been dealing with aesthetic problems professionally since 1963. My immediate objective is to complete the monograph 'On the Nature of Aesthetics' started almost twenty years ago."

Ales Adamovich, director of the institute, and Andrei Nuikin, his deputy, have drawn universal attention to the institute. Both are prominent public figures, active supporters of perestroika, whose articles always find a nationwide readership.

The author of a number of articles on the philosophy of art and of a book on public self-government, Andrei Nuikin owes his popularity mainly to his article "Ideals and Interests" published in the magazine Novy Mir early this year.

The article shows that the overt and covert resistance to perestroika has its roots in the economic interests of certain social strata.



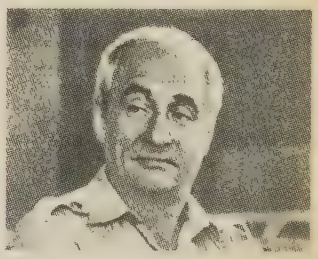
The assassination of John Kennedy inflicted an unhealing wound on many Americans, and each new book is another attempt to throw light on the mysterious circumstances of the tragedy.

About 125 characters, both real and fictional, have helped American author **Don DeLillo** reconstruct the events in Dallas twenty-five years ago.

Lee Harvey Oswald is the central character of his novel "Libra." "This is a work of the imagination," he explains in the afterword. "While drawing from the historical record, I've made no attempt to furnish factual answers to any questions raised by the assassination... I have extended real people into imagined space and time, invented incidents, dialogues and characters."

Don DeLillo is 51. Since the publication of his first novel in 1971, the writer has been examining the American character and the American dream. That was about advertising; his other novels have looked at the rock music scene, football, and terrorism.

There are references to the Kennedy assassination in three of his novels, but this is a different kind of novel, "a terminus of human feelings." "Fiction can counteract some of the ambiguity and try to rescue history from its confusions. Stories are a consolidation; fiction can be a balm," the author tells his reader.



A film "Slaying the Dragon" by **Mark Zakharov,** art director at Moscow's Leninsky Komsomol Theatre, has been released. A screen version of Evgeny Shvarts' play "Dragon," it was produced jointly with the Bauern Athelier studio (West Berlin). Polish and Czech moviemakers also had a hand in it.

"What appealed to me most was the dramatist's idea that killing a real dragon is only half the battle. The really important thing is killing the 'little dragon' within oneself, purging one's mind of warped ideas. It seems to me that the message of the play is closely connected with our contemporary problems, worries and hopes," the director says.

strong personality

woman heptathlete the over can match Jackie -Kersee, the gifted 26- d U.S. athlete who ed her own world re- t the Indianapolis U.S. c track and field trials, 7,215 points.

as the latest in a series standing performances by Jackie in 1986: at odwill Games in Mos- e was the first woman re 7,000 points in the nion; in Houston she new world record; and she repeated her record long jump g.

a few years ago, Jac- ndividual successes in events were not taken ly by experts. She ade a bid for top hon- t the Helsinki World and Field Champion- 1985, but dropped cause of injury. Having

won a silver medal at the Los Angeles Olympics '86 in the heptathlon, she won two world titles in 1987.

Jackie Joyner was born into a poor black family. Busy looking for a job, her father had no time to spare raising his son and three daughters. Jackie took up basketball. In 1980 she entered a Los Angeles college, which detracted nothing from her enthusiasm for the game.

Jackie is coached by her husband, Bob Kersee, well known in the track-and-field world. He was made a top-class athlete of her. "She has a strong personality, rather too strong sometimes," Bob says. "I see how hard she works, how demanding she is on herself, and how much effort she puts into workouts. I feel that right alongside me there is person who is dedicated to me and who appreciates my work and understands my problems."

A. Kun

What hinders cultural exchanges

"Don't pay me my salary," said pianist **Nikolai Petrov,** *People's Artiste of the R.S.F.S.R., on leaving for a tour abroad. What prompted his decision?*

New Times. You have been on the concert circuit for 26 years. It is easier to name the countries you haven't visited. Japan, Canada, the United States... Some people think the life of a touring artiste is cloudless, comfortable and carefree. Is this really the case?

Nikolai Petrov. Far from it. Our lives have none of the romantic glamour some of our fans associate with it. True, you visit places, some of them exotic, but every foreign trip means hard work. I am sure an artiste touring the Soviet Union feels much the same. The Soviet public is capable of appreciating real talent. Unfortunately, top performers from abroad do not come here as often as we would like.

N.T. But you see a lot of names on posters.

N.P. Until recently, any foreign musician or orchestra could be sure of performing to a full house. The situation has changed dramatically of late. Not all foreign performers attract enthusiastic audiences. Why? Mainly because we have become better educated, more sophisticated and more selective. We have a better idea of how good this or that musician or group really is, and whether it makes sense to queue for tickets for their concerts.

N.T. That is quite a change in itself. There was a time when other people decided for us what we should see and hear and what we should not see.

N.P. That is true. There were even lists of banned works. If the bureaucrats put a work of art or a performer on that list these artistes and works of art were banished from our life as harmful and trivial. They were almost anathemized. It was enough for the outstanding Polish composer Witold Lutoslawski publicly to state his disagreement with our official position for his works to be struck off the repertoires of Soviet musicians. Unfortunately, this was not the only such case. A whole system of bans was imposed upon us – in music, art, literature, the theatre and cinema, and it was useless to try to breach them. All this was of course a brake on the development of art in this country and prevented our people from keeping abreast of what was happening abroad. Thank God, that period of stagnation is over. We are beginning to understand at last that art cannot be administered, that it lives and develops according to its own laws, and that bans and restrictions spell death for any artist.

N.T. How does Goskontsert (the State Concert Agency) select performers? Does it judge musicians on merit, or by some other criteria?

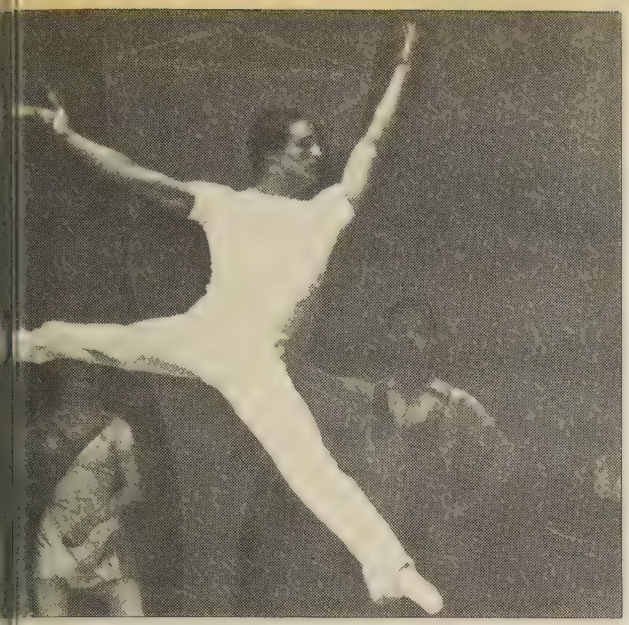
N.P. From the information available from abroad – booklets, recordings, video clips – there would seem to be no problem: look and decide what meets the requirements of the audience and your own artistic taste. But this only appears to be the case to the uninitiated. Practice shows that performers are selected not on their true merit, but on the basis of a certain sum in hard currency. We cannot pay for concerts by the best musicians in hard currency because we are short of it. So we often have to settle at a "bargain price," for a second-rate performer our audiences do not care for. That is why many perform to almost empty houses.

N.T. But we have recently had performances by such outstanding musicians as Vladimir Horowitz and Yehudi Menuhin...

N.P. Yes, but as a rule stars come here once, or twice at the most. This is not because they are greedy and want to make Goskontsert pay through the nose. Our country enjoys prestige in the musical world, and any, even a great musician, would welcome the mention of a Soviet tour in his advertising booklet. So they do come. They would be glad to come again if they were paid in accordance with the quality of their performances. But... Here is a recent example. The French pianist Gilbert wanted to give concerts in the Soviet Union. Knowing our limited resources, he said the financial aspect did not bother him very much. Goskontsert took him literally at his word and said it was prepared to organize a tour and pay him 3,000 francs (the equivalent of about 300 rubles) plus 100 Soviet rubles. The reply from France was swift. The impresario said that in his own country "M. Gilbert wouldn't even play scales" for this money. Not that the impresario was being guided by financial considerations. There was a more important reason for his refusal. Every manager is convinced that low royalties are an affront to a musician, belittling his professional skill. This should never be allowed to happen.

N.T. What about our musicians going abroad? Do they encounter any problems?

N.P. All the time. I have been a professional musician for more than a quarter of a century and I know a lot from my own experience. Until recently relations between a musician and officials in administrative bodies, whether local philharmonics, Soyuzkontsert and so on, were relations between employer and employee. The personality of the performer did not matter. Everything depended on whether you were liked or disliked by the Goskontsert official responsible for exchanges with this or that country, and the heads of this or that organization. They always had the final say. People who knew nothing about art decided that this performer would go and this one wouldn't. As a rule, the "judges" did not bother to explain their de-



oi touring the U.S.A. Irek Mukhamedov dancing.

sions. This atitude led to cor-ption, bias, arrogance and so

N.T. Have any real changes ken place in the way foreign urs are organized?

N.P. Unfortunately, not much s changed. Perestroika is going wly in our field, mainly because fierce resistance from the reaucrats. I would hate you to ink that I am holding the S.S.R. Ministry of Culture imarily to blame. Unfortunately, e ministry cannot make any de-sions without coordinating them th organizations that have no-ing to do with art, such as the nance Ministry, the State abour Committee, the Central ade Union Council and the eople's Control Committee. At resent every instruction which is nsonant with the times is out-eighed by dozens of obsolete structions that contradict it and ave not yet been revoked.

Ever since our international ex-hanges began in the late fifties e have lived not by laws, but by dinances, circulars, and auses. The paradox is that the ganizations which should be eeking the repeal of outdated, nnecessary circulars instead xact blind obedience to them, nd make no attempt to bring em into line with real life. Most nportantly, they demand the ame compliance from others. In e final count, art is the loser.

N.T. What do you think should e done to enable us to invite big ames in art?

N.P. First of all, U.S.S.R. Gos-ntsert should be stripped of its monopoly on deciding which Soviet musicians should go abroad and which foreign artistes should be invited. We need decentralization. We need an alternative. Alternative organizations could be the Soviet Peace Committee, the Soviet Culture Foundation, the All-Union Musical Society and even the Moscow Philharmonic, provided it becomes what it should be – a real academy of musical art. Over the past 16 years it has gone into decline under incompetent leadership. And yet the Moscow Philharmonic should be the leader among all the philharmonic societies in this country. One could think in terms of a cooperative society which would pay part of its proceeds into the government budget. All these organizations should have the right to have direct links with foreign countries. In short, we should create a market of performers in which the merit of the performer is all-important.

N.T. I understand that the way tours are arranged for musicians inside the U.S.S.R. needs to be changed.

N.P. Most definitely. All these years, in spite of my many foreign tours, I have played 50-60 concerts in the Soviet Union, and in some seasons between 70 and 80. Of course, I have been lucky, and never had to perform in auditoriums unfit for the purpose.

I simply refused to play in poor conditions. Some people might feel that I am being arrogant and don't want to "take art to the masses." Nothing could be further from the truth. I simply want to maintain standards and make people respect our profession and themselves. But some of us are still all too ready to compromise, and this attitude devalues real art. Almost 80 per cent of all concerts, perhaps even more, take place in vocational schools, local clubs, fire depots, in cinemas before the start of the show and in hostels. You often have to play on old pianos with missing keys. How can you talk of professionalism?

N.T. What should be done to exclude pot-boilers and mediocrities from Soviet art, and make the best stages available to the best performers?

N.P. Introduce the institution of impresario. I think things are moving in that direction. This would cut out a lot of dead wood. There are thousands of performers and not all of them are good enough to perform in major orchestras. The impresario system should also cover foreign tours. Musicians, like other professionals, need a system of self-financing. Eight months ago I sent a letter to the Minister of Culture asking to put my foreign tours on a fully self–financing basis.

N.T. Can you explain what you meant by that?

N.P. I pay for the air travel (it costs 800-900 rubles to Europe and more than 2,000 to America). I myself arrange for my foreign tours. Sometimes you have to spend the best part of a year abroad. And all this time I am supposed to draw my salary in the U.S.S.R.,but I give it up.In fact, I won't cost Goskontsert a kopek and they will get a net profit from me in hard currency. I understand that Vladimir Spivakov, leader of the Moscow Virtuosi chamber orchestra, approached the ministry with the same suggestion earlier. So far there has been no answer, although they were supposed to reply within a month. Still, I hope the day will come when merit will be the main criterion in deciding which Soviet musicians will perform abroad. I am sure perestroika will lead to wider international exchanges. Soviet audiences will have a chance of enjoying the art of all the world-famous musicians including ours who have unfortunately found themselves abroad – some for no political reasons at all.

N.T. Thank you. Hopefully, many problems involved in the organization of Soviet musicians' guest tours abroad and the performances of foreign artistes in this country will be solved soon. This hope is fostered by changes in the Goskontsert of which Vladimir Panchenko, a young, vigorous and reform-minded man, has been appointed the director.

Interviewed by
TATIANA FIRSOVA

Their ancestors' tenets live on

Russian Old Believers

Irreconcilability, intolerance, reluctance to change or revise one's attitudes – are these always bad?

Girls in long dresses and large kerchiefs, their eyes downcast, glided cross the sunlit courtyard into the church. A few minutes later their clear voices rang out in the chorus praising the Lord.

Divine service had begun in the Church of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin, in the Rogozhski Old Believers' community in Moscow, exactly as it had done yesterday and indeed hundreds of years ago. Members of the Belaya Krinitsa hierarchy (the name derives from a monastery in the Ukraine, the centre of the Old Believers in the past) assert that their rites have not changed in the slightest in the millennium of Christianity in Russia.

In fact, the Old Believers appeared as a protest against reforms that began in the Orthodox Church about 300 years ago and led to a schism.

"We have not made any changes," Romil Khrustalev, chairman of Rogozhski community, says proudly. "We have preserved the faith of our ancestors, and maintain the ancient traditions in their original form. In Old Believers' churches you see wonderful icons painted in the old Russian manner, hear hymns that came to Russia with the Christian faith ten centuries ago, and meet people in old Russian costumes – long sleeveless dresses, long belted tunics, and blouses that open at the side."

Icon-lamps and candles are lit in the churches morning and evening (the Old Believers use only natural lighting). Divine service is held twice a day, and lasts between four and six hours. This makes considerable demands on a man of today, and probably explains why there are usually few people in the Church of Intercession of the Holy Virgin, which could hold some 8,000 Old Believers.

Many believers gathered in the hot days of July, when the Old Rite Church celebrated the millennium of Christianity in Russia. Among them were representatives of the 150 parishes in the Moscow Region, Moldavia, the Ukraine and the Caucasus, and guests from Old Believers' parishes in the United States, Canada, Australia and Romania.

The Old Believers have very strict canonical rules. The desire for isolation and maximum purity has reduced the circle of

Photo by A. Tepchenkov

ardent believers who keep the faith intact. The parishes are replenished almost exclusively from members of Old Believers' families. The Old Rite Church has not joined any international organizations.

The Old Believers see their mission in passing on the faith of their ancestors intact from generation to generation. The close ties of Old Believers with their original sources, and their fundamentalism and fanatism, have helped them preserve masterpieces of icon-painting and their old melodies.

The celebration of the millennium of Christianity culminated in elevating Alimpi, head of the Old Rite Church, to the rank of Metropolitan of Moscow and All Russia. He is the first Metropolitan in the history of the Russian Old Rite Church. What does he think about the changes taking place in our country?

"We have no insoluble problems," he says. "Old Rite churches of all trends, including the Belaya Krinitsa hierarchy, enjoy equal rights with all other religions in the country. At the end of last year, at the request of the Council for Religious Affairs, the Moscow Soviet decided to hand over the former clergy house to our church. We are going to have our ecclesiastical and administrative centre in this building. Government-paid restorers are also bringing life to works of ancient Russian art.

"One of the most urgent problems now is to preserve and restore the Rogozhski settlement in Moscow, the Old Believers' Kremlin, created by the great Russian architects Kazakov and Gornostayev," Metropolitan Alimpi says. "True, on the eve of the millennium of Christianity in Russia, external repairs had been completed on the Church of the Intercession of the Holy Virgin and the Church of the Assumption. The murals in these churches are still being cleaned, and the restoration of the clergy house has been started. But the main thing is to preserve the integrity of the buildings and their distinctiveness. Our church is unable to do this on its own, as it does not have the solid material base it had in the past.

"The local authorities are now listening more attentively to our requests and observing the law on religious associations more conscientiously. One example of the new attitude to the church is the belfry-church of the Assumption. Its bells were silent for 60 years, and now they are ringing again.

"But the past does not go away all at once," Metropolitan Alimpi adds. "Believers in the city of Beltsy in Moldavia, the town of Semenov in Gorky Region, and the city of Perm are still petitioning for the registration of their communes, and are being denied their right. The Kazan commune has been unsuccessfully asking the city authorities to return a former Old Rite church to it. Old Believers in Khabarovsk have already lost all hope of legalizing their commune.

"As for the relationship between the Old Rite and Russian Orthodox Churches, we respond to all the appeals of the Moscow Patriarchate to take part in its peace moves, the anti-war movement, and the work of preserving historical and cultural monuments.

"As a result of the painful schism in Russian Orthodoxy, our churches have gone their own ways over the past 300 years. We are completely independent in canonical matters and our internal affairs."

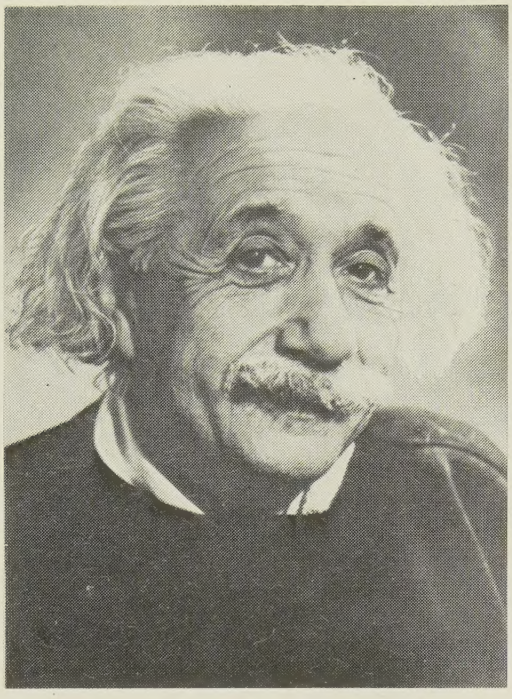
Olga Bai
and Vyacheslav Podshibyakin

AN EASY WAY TO CRACK MATHS PROBLEMS
A hard nut for you
is child's play

for an Elektronika microcalculator

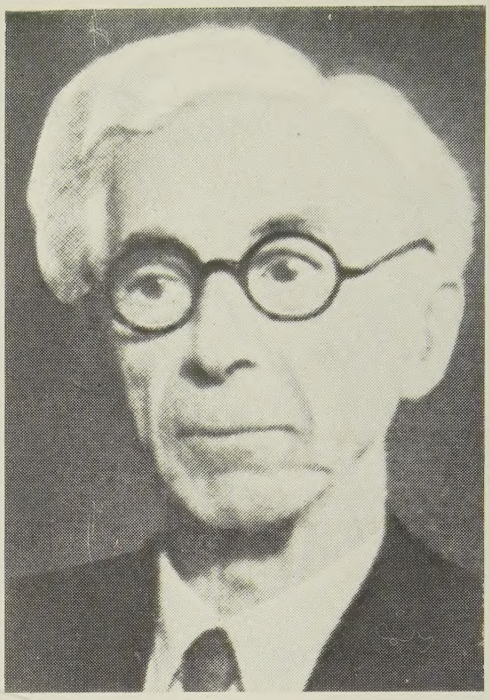
The Elektronika
Central Advertising Agency
The Golden Ring Advertising Agency

ЭЛЕКТРОНИКА



Albert Einstein

We must warn people of the danger again and again. We can and must do all in our power so that the nations of the world and especially their governments realize the full horror of the catastrophe they will surely provoke unless they change their attitude to each other and their approach to shaping the future.



Bertrand Russell

If I were to pray to Osiris to continue the human race, I would say:

Oh just and adamant judge! Many of us, intoxicated by our new powers over nature, crave to acquire power over other men... However, that false road has not absorbed all of our energies. What we have managed to learn about the world in which we live, about the nebulae and atoms, about the great and the small, outweighs everything that had seemed conceivable before. Thou wilt object that knowledge is nothing in the hands of those not wise enough to use it for good. However, although such wisdom exists, it is rarely to be encountered and is insufficiently powerful to influence events. Wise men and the seers have long preached the futility and insanity of strife; if we heed them we shall arrive at new happiness...

"War has always been
the curse of civilization: it is
likely to bring it to an end
unless we do something
about it and that
very soon."
John Bernal

ee supplement for our subscribers

Pugwash:

HE WORLD OF SCIENCE
ND THE SCIENCE
F PEACE 2

aly GOLDANSKY
HIS IS OUR WORK 3

Yesterday,

rticipants in the first Pugwash confer-
ce held in the Pugwash village, Canada.

seph ROTBLAT
HE BIRTH
F PUGWASH 6

orothy HODGKIN
HE NEW WAY
F THINKING 12

Today,

Marian DOBROSIELSKI
Maciej NALECZ
EUROPE: A SECURE CONTINENT 15

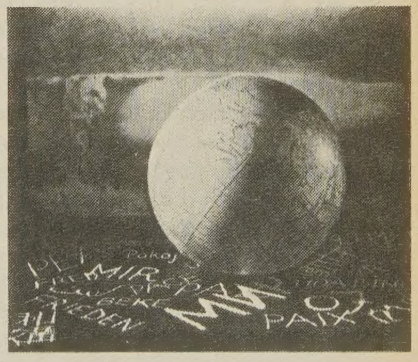
John P. HOLDREN
SOME UNCONVENTIONAL THOUGHTS ON CONVENTIONAL FORCES 18

Anatoly GROMYKO
THE THIRD WORLD IN THE FOURTH DIMENSION 24

Bhalchandra M. UDGAONKAR
COMMON GOAL 27

Brief commentary:

Klaus Gotstein 20
Ralph Trapp 26
Francesco Calogero 32



Humanity is leaving the realm of unrealized necessity and entering the realm of responsibility. It should also live in the realm of security.

Tomorrow

Sergei KAPITSA
LOOKING INTO THE FUTURE 30

FLY AEROFLOT TO THE CAUCASUS AND THE CRIMEA

АЭРОФЛОТ
Soviet airlines

A holiday problem?
Black Sea resorts in the Crimea and Caucasus is the answer.
The world-famous Soviet Black Sea health resorts mean:
– more than 200 sunny days a year;
– miles of golden beaches;
– a bather's paradise (seawater temperatures: 24 to 26 C, bathing season from May to November);
– picturesque mountain scape, lush subtropical vegetation;
– salubrious spas;
– comfortable hotels and sanatoriums.
The fastest way to get there is by Aeroflot!

For details about the most convenient routes contact the Aeroflot agency in your country.

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗ